

McGhee

348

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T H E  
HISTORY of the TURKISH,  
O R  
O T T O M A N E M P I R E.

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V O L. III.

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T H E  
HISTORY of the TURKISH,  
O R  
OTTOMAN EMPIRE,  
FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1300,  
TO THE PEACE OF *BELGRADE* IN 1740.  
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED  
AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE  
O N  
MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

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TRANSLATED *from the FRENCH of* MIGNOT,  
BY A. HAWKINS, ESQ.

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QUIDQUID DELIRANT REGES, PLECTUNTUR ACHIVI.  
*HORAT. I. Epist. 2.*

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V O L. III.

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Turkish, *or* Ottoman Empire,  
From its Foundation in 1300, to the Peace of  
BELGRADE in 1740.

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A M U R A T H IV.

SEVENTEENTH REIGN.

**T**HREE days after sultan Mustapha's having J.C. 1  
Heg. 1  
& 10 refused to appear in the divan, the troops repaired in order to the outer court of the seraglio, crying: "Long live our powerful monarch Amurath IV." This prince, as we have said, was hardly fifteen years old, when he was placed on the throne of his ancestors. All the bashaws of the different orders, sangiacs, agas, Agas  
is pro  
claim and principal officers both of the troops and ulema, and particularly of the spahis and janissaries, were assembled in the divan. The musti asked them if they would have Amurath for their emperor. All replied with shouts of approbation

J.C. 1623.  
Heg. 1032,  
& 1033.


and joy. On this, the young prince, with great majesty of speech, recommended to the musti and the grand vizier to make the laws be respected, and to re-establish order, too much neglected in the empire. The next day the new monarch was conducted by water, in great state, to Jub mosque, where he performed the corban : that is, meat and bread were distributed to the people in the name of the emperor. This is a custom established among the Turks for great rejoicing days. The musti girded the sword on Amurath, after which the new emperor made his entrance on horseback through Adrianople gate. The people remarked, with admiration, the grace and majesty of Amurath's mien, who, in a tender age, displayed already the appearance of a great prince. Mustapha was again shut up for the second time in the place from whence he had been taken. No attempt was made on his life : the religion of the Turks orders mad people to be respected, as predestinated to celestial glory, and their days are sacred to all that acknowledge the Alcoran.

Mustapha, his predecessor, is again shut up for the second time.

The first use that Amurath made of his authority, was an act of rigour and justice. The bashaw of Grand Cairo, lately arrived at Constantinople, was accused by several timarians of various oppressions. The emperor would have this affair examined in the divan ; and, on the accused's being found guilty, he was condemned, not to the bow-string, but to be beheaded. The confiscation of his property badly acquired began

to fill up the void space which the profusions of <sup>J.C. 1</sup> the last reign had left in the public treasury. <sup>Heg. 1</sup> The new monarch, though so young, promised to put the finances in as much order, as they had 'till then been in confusion. As the revolt of Abassa the bashaw of Erzerum, and the affairs of Europe which we shall soon speak of, required considerable expences, the emperor laid a tax on all officers that were not of the military, and on all merchants, in order that those who made considerable profits might contribute, more than the other subjects, to the expences of the empire.

Meanwhile Abassa, assisted by the bashaw of Aleppo and several other fangiacs, put himself at the head of the rebels who ravaged Natolia, and who prevented the gathering of the imposts. This rebel, as we have said, covered his outrageous proceedings against the sovereign authority with the specious pretext of avenging the blood of Othman. He pretended that this prince had appeared to him in a dream, recommending him to sacrifice to his manes seventy thousand janissaries or spahis; that this illustrious martyr had promised him, in the name of the prophet, constant victory. Enthusiasm and the love of booty increased the number of Abassa's soldiers. His troops were more formidable, because, under pretence of punishing the spahis and janissaries, they unmercifully massacred all that they found in arms. The janissaries assembled every day in order to obtain orders, by their clamours, to march

J.C. 1623.  
Heg. 1032,  
& 1033.  against these implacable enemies. The sultan, who saw more than one quarrel to determine, ordered that all who received any pay whatsoever from the empire, should assemble in the chief town of each sangiacate, and that the bassaws should levy as many troops as they were able to pay, in order to make war at the same time both in Europe and Asia.

J.C. 1624.  
Heg. 1033,  
& 1034. In such disagreeable circumstances, the emperor wished to confirm the alliance which Othman had made with the Poles. Notwithstanding the avidity of the grand vizier, who advised his master to exact a tribute from these Christians, the young prince was sufficiently prudent not to attempt to augment the power of his sceptre, whilst it was enough to maintain that which could be wrested from him. The duke of Sbaraufski, ambassador from the king and republic of Poland, had an audience of the sultan. The treaty of Othman received a new sanction, without the Turks' making any fresh demand. It was necessary to keep the old tributaries in order, prior to an idea of bringing new ones under subjection. And indeed the Crimean Tartary threatened strongly to revolt. The khan was dead. Amurath IV. immediately on his ascending the throne, had named, according to the right of the Ottoman monarchs, Mahud, the eldest son of the last khan, to succeed to the throne of his father. The Tartars had always adhered to this nomination; but this time, these warlike people would fain take advantage

vantage of the supposed weakness of the empire, to shake off the yoke. They all declared in an assembly, that they would have Mehemet, the second son of the last khan, for their master, without giving any other reason, than the desire of opposing the choice of Amurath IV. who had named the eldest. The sultan, who beheld two formidable enemies at once, exerted every effort which the misfortunes of the times would admit of. The grand vizier, Chufain, was ordered to march to Amasia against Abassa, and the captain bashaw to proceed with the fleet against the Tartars; but the latter had very few land forces, as the empire contained more rebellious foldiers than faithful servants.

The instructions given the captain bashaw, on his departure, were to make use of lenity and address with a people who, though martial, had been accustomed for so many years to consider the Turks rather as masters than sovereigns paramount. The admiral entered into Amurath's views. On his arrival at Caffa, the capital of Tartary, where the chiefs of the hordes were assembled, he entered the port as a friend, saying that he was come, not to force their suffrages in favor of one of the two brothers, but to be a witness of the election in the name of the emperor of the Ottomans, and to set on the throne him of the two princes that should have most votes. By favor of these friendly appearances, the captain bashaw was admitted without resistance,

J.C. 1624.  
Heg. 1033,  
& 1034.

tance, and honored as the envoy of their sovereign paramount. He neglected nothing to prevail on the chiefs to declare khan the prince whom Amurath had made choice of; and when he thought himself certain of a majority, he appointed the election at the gates of the town. Two standards were set up in a plain at some distance from each other. The captain bashaw kept in the middle with the principal officers of his army. He declared aloud, that all those who would have Mahud for master, should range themselves under the white standard on his making a signal; that those, on the contrary, who persisted for Mehemet, should repair to the red standard. All the chiefs being assembled, the captain bashaw saw, with as much chagrin as surprise, that they all made towards the red standard and proclaimed Mehemet with loud acclamations. The Turkish admiral having declared that he could not confirm this election without new orders from the Porte, prince Mahud, followed by the few Tartars that had declared for him, went to the captain bashaw, and prevailed on him by great solicitation to debark his land forces, in hopes the Tartars would respect the janissaries and timarians, whom they had never yet fought against, and whom they were accustomed to follow to the war. Though Calil had more than a hundred sail, he had only ten thousand land forces on board. These troops drew up in order of battle in the same plain where Mehemet had been elected. The Tartarian cavalry feigned a flight;

a flight; but seeing themselves pursued with precipitation and disorder, they drew the Turks into an ambuscade, where thirty thousand men, quite fresh and well posted, charged this dispersed infantry, fatigued and incapable of forming again. The Turks made hardly any resistance. The carnage would have been general if Mehemet, who had interest to please his enemies, had not given quarter to the Turks before they asked it. He restored at a low price fifteen hundred prisoners taken by his troops; and permitted the vessels (of which he could have taken a great number) to leave the port of Caffa.

To complete this disaster, the Cossacks took advantage of the absence of the Ottoman fleet to pass the Bosphorus and alarm even Constantinople. This martial nation was at that time as formidable by sea as land, and made continual ravages. Their long, slight vessels, having each ten oars, had the prow and stern alike, so as to attack by either end. The manoeuvres of the Cossacks were much quicker than those of any other nation. Moreover, their extreme sobriety, agility, strength, and laborious way of life, made them undertake the longest and most perilous cruises. A hundred and fifty sail, having entered the channel of the Black sea, landed some troops, who pillaged all the towns and country houses on the two coasts of Europe and Asia. There was not a single galley left in the port of Constantinople. Five hundred saicks or other light vessels  
were

## HISTORY OF THE OTTOMANS.

were armed with all speed; the port was shut with an iron chain; and whilst this multitude of small vessels made head against the Cossack fleet, which was ranged in a semi-circle before the chain of the port, twenty thousand men, regular troops and others raised in haste, were distributed at Pera, Galata, Scutari, and all the environs of Constantinople. Nothing can be compared to the consternation which was spread in the capital on this occasion. As terror often renders men cruel, several bashaws proposed slaughtering all the Christians in Constantinople, lest they should have secret intelligence with the Cossacks. The wisest members of the divan represented, that, to irritate the Franks by such a cruelty would be but a bad way to secure themselves against them. The cossacks, who aimed only at booty, made no preparation for fighting; they stretched off and returned several successive days to the same station in order to augment the inquietude and take advantage of the confusion that they caused in the town by ravaging and burning the lighthouses and neighbouring villages. This insult convinced the divan of the necessity of guarding Constantinople by sea. The captain bashaw and his fleet were recalled in haste. The grand seignior was willing to appear to confirm, of his own free will, the election of the khan Mehemet, against whom he had imprudently sent an army too weak. Being taught by this misfortune, he turned his whole attention to pacifying the internal

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nal part of his empire, in order to repulse his natural enemies with greater effect. After the khan of the Tartars had sent to do homage at the feet of the emperor, and had received in return a sword and a fur-lining of sable as a sign of investiture, the affairs of Asia were seriously attended to.

It was high time. The grand vizier, instead of marching against Abassa, as had been decided in the divan, went and wasted his army before Bagdad, and left behind him the provinces of the empire in confusion. The prince of the Druses and the bashaws of Erzerum, Aleppo, and Diarbekar, all accomplices in the same revolt, were at that time earnestly inviting the king of Persia into Asia, in order to pay him homage and place their governments under his authority. To complete the disaster, what janissaries were left at Constantinople excited new troubles. These factious beings, seeing the reins of government in the hands of a child, daily demanded the customary present on the accession of an emperor. It has already been observed that the misfortunes of the times had not permitted the making of this donation to the troops when Amurath ascended the throne. This prince, as yet too young to resist a mutinous soldiery, in vain attempted to appease their clamours by his presence. The janissaries, emboldened by so many successes, insolently demanded the blood of the caimacan, whom they could reproach with no other crime than

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having refused them the money which was not in the public treasury. They carried their audacity so far as to proscribe the head of the valid sultaneſs. The young ſultan thought at firſt that he could appeaſe the revolt and preſerve his authority by granting them part of their demands. The caimacan was made a mazul ; but as Amurath had ſent to this unfortunate man, immediately after his depoſition, to repair to the ſeraglio, in order that his life might be in greater ſecurity, the caimacan was ſurpriſed by ſome janiffaries as he was entering diſguiſed. Theſe furious ſoldiers fell upon him, tore him to pieces, and even inſulted his body after his death. The valid ſultaneſs, whom this example made tremble for herſelf, cauſed money to be diſtributed to the troops. This precaution and the ſuperſtitious reſpect which all the Turks have for the grand ſeignior's haram, ſaved the valid's life. The janiffaries ſeparated contented ; but Amurath, all young as he was, ſaw with chagrin this terrible ſoldiery affect in his reign the ſame independence and uſurp the ſame authority as under his predeceſſors. He foreſaw the conſequences, and reſolved to prevent them. When the janiffaries thought their revolt quite forgotten, Amurath had ſeveral of the moſt ſeditious ſecretly arreſted one after another, and, on different days, had them beheaded, directing his vengeance more pointedly againſt the ſubalterns and private ſoldiers, than againſt the principal officers, in order  
that

that the multitude might no longer think, as they had 'till then, that the great men had alone to fear chastisement. As it was impossible for these troops to remain constantly in a state of defence, Amurath chose his moments to punish. These means contained them during his reign only, which was not long : it is not possible for soldiers that execute daily the orders of a government without written laws, not to perceive that this government has no authority but through their means, and not to be often tempted to make him experience their caprices who makes them execute his.

Meanwhile, the Persians had entered his dominions by four places. The sophi had brought an army himself into the Diarbekar, and had conquered all the country beyond Bagdad, which the perfidious bashaw had made no difficulty of surrendering to the enemy. Another Persian army which entered Palestine was under the command of the emir Facardin, prince of the Druses. The sophi wanted to make this emir a sovereign tributary to Persia. Another corps of Persians had passed the Euphrates, extending themselves towards Trebizond in a country rather rich, where they met but little resistance. In fine, a fourth had entered Arabia, and taken Medina, after having routed some handfuls of asaps that the timarians had brought against them. If we recollect that the bashaws of Erzerum and Aleppo had levied troops to destroy the janissaries, and avenge, as they said, the death of Othman,

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we shall comprehend how much an infant prince, at the head of a seditious soldiery which he knew not how to pay, had to fear for his throne. In the middle of all these adversities, Amurath found the greatest treasure that a sovereign can enjoy, a wise minister and in whom he could put confidence. Chafis Ali, formerly bashaw of Bosnia, and one of the viziers or bashaws of the bench, succeeded the caimacan that the janissaries had put to death. This officer, in the absence of the grand vizier, is the first of the empire, and has the entire management of the government. Chafis Ali was endowed with all the necessary qualifications to re-establish affairs grown desperate. He had no difficulty to persuade the young prince, first to observe great œconomy in his expences, in order to make up by degrees the immense sums which his predecessors had drawn from the public treasury, and lastly to shew himself often to the people and janissaries, in order to inspire a respect for his person. This minister often told his master, that if the profound retreat of the sultans accustomed the people to respect an invisible monarch, it only more disposed the soldiers to mutiny against a master whose face they were as much strangers to as his voice. And indeed Amurath affected to appear often in the Hippodrom and in the other public squares of Constantinople. Instead of walking in the gardens of the haram amidst his women and eunuchs, the sultan was at the head of the spahis challenging them all to  
shoot,

shoot the bow or fling the lance, and carrying off the prizes that he had himself given. This sort of martial familiarity gave him a real ascendancy over ferocious soldiers, who could not imagine that a prince who had vanquished them at shooting the bow, or in running, could be undeserving of the throne.

Whilst Amurath was trying his forces in order at a future period to take the command of the army himself, and his caimacan was endeavouring to repair by his sagacity the multiplied faults of the preceding reigns, bad news arrived from Asia. The grand vizier, who had conducted the principal forces of the empire towards Bagdad, had lost much time and a number of men before that important place. A hundred thousand men, reduced to less than forty thousand, after a six months siege, had been constrained to abandon this perilous enterprise. The sopher, who had himself hastened to the succour of this place, had forced the Turks rather to take to flight than retreat. The Ottoman troops had likewise been beaten in Palestine, and Abassa had taken several towns in Natolia, without declaring himself a subject of the sopher's, but always styling himself the avenger of Othman and the implacable enemy of the janissaries. All these misfortunes were attributed to the incapacity of the grand vizier, Chufain, whom Chafis Ali advised his master to recall as soon as possible, under pretence of taking his advice, and without letting him have a suspi-  
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J.C. 1625,  
& 1626.

Heg. 1034,  
to 1036.

The grand  
vizier is  
recalled &  
strangled.  
Chafis Ali  
is made  
grand vi-  
sier in his  
place.

cion of his disgrace ; for as this minister was said to have profited immoderately by the public misfortunes, and his private treasure was increased with the substance of the army, it would have been very wrong not to intice him to Constantinople in order that he might be more in the emperor's power. In effect, the grand vizier sent on before him to Constantinople a number of camels loaded with every species of riches. They accrued, in great part, from the seizure which he had made of the effects of three bashaws, lately sacrificed on suspicions ; for instead of sending to the public treasury these spoils which belonged to the sovereign, the grand vizier thought he might take them himself, without any one's daring to bring him to an account. But he had no sooner appeared at the seraglio, than the emperor, to whom he was preparing to give lessons on government, demanded of him the particulars of the siege of Bagdad and the other operations against the rebels of Asia, as likewise what he had done with the confiscated property of the three condemned bashaws. It was of no use to the grand vizier to offer all his wealth with his hand to one of his master's sisters, the grand seignior finding it more just and useful to confiscate it. The prime minister lost his head for his incapacity, cruelty, and injustice. Chafis Ali, from caimacan become grand vizier, sent to the public treasury the rapines and even patrimony of his faithless predecessor. Being convinced likewise  
that

that there was no necessity for a sovereign to fight in person subjects whom he was not sure of vanquishing, he advised his master to treat with this Abassa bashaw of Erzerum, the most dangerous of all the rebels.

J.C. 1625.  
& 1626.  
Heg. 1034,  
to 1036.

The king of Persia had just sent an ambassador to Constantinople, who offered peace, provided Bagdad and all its territory as far as Bassora were left to his son. Chafis would by no means agree to such a disgraceful treaty; he only took advantage of the negociation to detach Abassa from the interest of the sophi. This rebel was returned to Erzerum, where he was enjoying the ravages which he had made throughout Natolia, and the taxes that he had imposed on the towns in which he had left garrisons. He began to give out, that he had never a thought of subjecting himself to the king of Persia; but that, faithful to the Ottoman house, he had taken up arms only to avenge one of his masters, whom a seditious soldiery had unjustly put to death. This change made Chafis Ali flatter himself that Abassa would listen to conditions. He discovered that the bashaw of Erzerum had a spy in Constantinople: the grand vizier had this man sought, found him, and convicted him of having a correspondence with the rebel; but instead of having him empaled, as he was pressed to do, and as all the other viziers would have done in the same situation, he resolved to make use of this spy, who appeared to him an able, intelligent man, in order to bring back

The Persians make propositions of peace. The new grand vizier takes advantage of the moment to endeavour to extinguish the rebellions.

J.C. 1625;  
& 1626.  
Heg. 1034,  
to 1036.

back Abassa to his master's obedience. The hatred of the janissaries against this man who had put to death such a number of their comrades, and the mistrust of the bashaw, seemed likely to render this negociation very difficult; but the grand vizier would fain have all the Asiatic dominions pacified, in order the better to drive out the Persians, and he hoped that the submission of Abassa would prevail on the bashaw of Aleppo, and the prince of the Druses, to return to their obedience. He sought all possible means to execute by conferences what it would have been dangerous to terminate with arms. Chafis Ali left Constantinople as if he was going to make war; but he carried with him to Asia rather an escort than an army. As he wanted the consent of the janissaries and spahis to the treaty which he meditated, he took with him what remained of these corps at Constantinople; and without laying siege to a single town, or putting the faith of the other bashaws and sangiacs to the test, he went and encamped at a little distance from Abassa in a plain not far from Erzerum. His army was too weak to undertake the siege of that place. The janissaries could not comprehend what the grand vizier meant to do with so few troops, and they complained already of their being exposed to certain death, as the implacable Abassa had not yet spared a single janissary or spahi that had fallen into his hands.

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This spy of the bashaw of Erzerum, whom the grand vizier had surprised at Constantinople, was come with him; and it was on this man that the prime minister founded his hope of a necessary reconciliation. Meurab (that was his name) went to tell his master, from the grand vizier, that it was time to put an end to a war so fatal to both parties, which tended only to destroy all the true Believers, and to deliver the Ottoman empire to the Aliians; that Amurath esteemed the fidelity of Abassa to the memory of the emperor Othman, whose revenge he had so nobly undertaken; but that all the murderers of that monarch had been punished, and that there was no necessity for his becoming in turn, by a longer war, the persecutor of the Ottoman race. As the bashaw of Erzerum shewed some mistrust, the ingenious negociator told him, that the grand vizier was come rather to put himself in his power than to surprise him; and that they had brought him a troop of spahis and janissaries, in order that his reconciliation with these two corps might restore peace throughout Asia. The grand vizier sent Abassa as hostages the two principal officers that he had in his retinue, his own brother who was beglerbeg of Carmania, and another bashaw of three tails. These proceedings which shewed so much good faith, prevailed on Abassa; he listened to all the propositions that were made him. They offered him the government of Bosnia, promising him that he should transport all his riches thither; that of

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J.C. 1627. Bosra for the bashaw of Aleppo, who was become  
 Heg. 1036, his lieutenant; and a general amnesty for Facar-  
 & 1037. din, the prince of the Druses. Nothing more was  
 necessary than to gain the consent of the janis-  
 faries, so much enraged against Abassa on account  
 of the blood that he had spilt. The grand vizier  
 and the principal officers flattered the pride of the  
 subalterns, by explaining to them the particular  
 reasons that had forced them to this accommo-  
 dation. He observed that it was impossible to resist  
 numerous armies, and still less to vanquish them  
 with so few men; that it was better to turn the  
 arms of these rebels against the Persians than to be  
 beaten by them; that the cruelty of Abassa to  
 their comrades had only been a consequence of the  
 error, which a number of Mussulmen had been led  
 into besides him, respecting the real murderers of  
 Othman; and that this bashaw had not put a single  
 person to death but those that he had believed,  
 though wrongly, accomplices in that assassination.

Meanwhile, the treaty was dispatched to Con-  
 stantinople to obtain the grand seignior's rati-  
 fication. By the time that it was returned, all  
 animosity was at an end. The bashaw of Er-  
 zerum went into the grand vizier's camp, carrying  
 him back his hostages; and, after having kissed  
 the bottom of the prime minister's vest, he dined  
 with him in his tent, as did likewise the prin-  
 cipal officers of the two armies. After dinner,  
 the grand vizier went in his turn into the camp  
 of the bashaw, which was pitched without the  
 town,

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 Abassa :  
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town, and every part resounded with the acclamations of the two armies, who repeated the name of Amurath. The spahis and janissaries went afterward to take the right of that of Abassa, as first troops of the empire. It was resolved that these two armies, which no longer made but one, should remain under the command of the grand vizier's brother, the beglerbeg of Caramania, and that the prime minister should return with Abassa to Constantinople. These two brave chiefs traversed Asia with a considerable retinue, letting the people, who ran out to meet them, see that there was a perfect good understanding between them, which did not a little contribute to pacify the country and make the lawful authority be respected. On their arrival near Constantinople, they crossed the straits of Scutari, and entered the city with great pomp. The grand vizier seemed to enjoy the triumph due to his policy; he conducted him in his train whom he had vanquished, not by arms, but by the strength of his reasons and the address of his conduct. He enjoyed the glory of having preserved an excellent general, who was more redoubtable for the enemies against whom the emperor meant to send him, because Abassa had never been vanquished. The grand vizier had first an audience of the sultan by himself, after which the prince received the homage of the new bashaw of Bosnia, who, after having kissed the ground at the foot of the throne, protested aloud that he

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1627.  
1036,  
1037.  
had never been otherwise than a most faithful subject, and that he had taken up arms for his highness's service only; that the blood which he had shed to satisfy the manes of Othman, should convince the emperor that he could never have a more zealous servant, and that the numerous sacrifices made to the Ottoman race announced with what eagerness he would march to the attack of its enemies. The young prince received this rebel kindly. He was pleased with him for wishing to appear innocent. Abassa was sent into Europe. We shall see that he was not unserviceable afterward to the prince against whom he had borne arms.

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In the mean time news arrived of the death of the sophi Shah Abbas, after having governed thirty years, leaving his crown to a young prince, the son of that eldest son whom he put to death for a conspiracy. This prince, who had almost always vanquished the Turks, and who had taken several provinces from them, had been constrained to make use of great severity to keep all his discontented vassals and governors in order. He had abandoned several of his factious sons to the sword of justice. One alone remained, blind from his birth, and every way unfit for the cares of a throne. Shah Abbas, at the point of death, sent for Zaid Mirza, the eldest of his grand-sons. The young prince, accustomed to see his grand-father shed his own blood, received with horror the proposal made him by  
Shah

Shah Abbas of succeeding him. Though this prince seemed ready to expire, he took it for a snare, and conjured Shah Abbas to remain on the throne. The old monarch having several times repeated to him, that death would soon take him from this world, and that he had chosen him to reign in his place, Zaid Mirza was proclaimed sophi the next day. The Turkish emperor and his vizier hoped that this change of master would render Persia less formidable, and that it would be possible to recover the last conquests of Shah Abbas at least. He dissuaded his master from commanding himself in this war; he was afraid of exposing the emperor of the Turks at the head of an army that might be forced to retreat. Chafis Ali charged himself with the event; but before he set out for the army, he did justice to the Franks, who complained, by count Cesy, the French ambassador, of the extortions of a Jew, who executed at Constantinople the office of collector or farmer of the taxes laid on the merchants of the West. The Jews seize, as much as they can, throughout Turkey, the advantages reaped by collecting the imposts, which the Turks condemn as odious; and whilst the Franks expose themselves to the fatigues, dangers, and losses, inseparable from a maritime commerce, their industry is subject to the avidity of Jews, who, either by the management of the customs, or usury, less dangerous and more lucrative than commerce, usurp in great part the industry and labour

J.C. 162  
Heg. 103  
& 1037

J.C. 162  
Heg. 103  
& 1038

The grand vizier prepares to march himself against Persia.

He does justice to the Franks who are oppressed by an extortioning Jew.

J.C. 1628.  
Heg. 1037,  
& 1038.

labour of other nations. The equitable vizier knew, from the complaints made him, that the Jew collector exercised much greater powers than those which he gave an account of to the state. This man was hanged as an extortioner. The French ambassador and the merchants of the different nations recommended an Armenian merchant to succeed him, who kept within the bounds prescribed; but this man, exposed, after the departure of the grand vizier, to the extortions of the caimacan and all the subaltern officers, who believe in Turkey that they are only taking what belongs to them when they squeeze the Infidels, was constrained to become a bankrupt to the public treasury. The ambassador and the merchants, sureties for this Armenian, fulfilled the engagements which they had contracted. We shall see by and by count Cefy obliged to remain at Constantinople, though his embassy was at an end, because the sums for which he had been bound were not paid.

The grand vizier set out for Mosul, which was the rendezvous of his army. He found a hundred and sixty thousand men there, spahis, timarians, janissaries, topggis, jebeggis, or asaps. He likewise expected a succour of Georgians. These people, whose affection, like their situation, says Mezeray, lies between the Persians and Turks, served in reality that of the two powers which paid them highest, and most commonly that against which they appeared to fight. Mo-  
roc,

roc, the Georgian emir, being come to bring his tribute to the vizier, and point out to him, as he said, the best roads, was received in the Turkish army with great honor. Chafis Ali imparted all his projects to him; but the vizier soon knew that he had confided in a traitor. Some operations anticipated by the enemy, and which the general had intrusted to the emir of Georgia only, intercepted letters, and several other things, convinced Chafis Ali that he was betrayed. He dissembled 'till he was able to discover all the accomplices, who were the sons of Moroc, and several of the principal Georgians. Then the vizier having had the arms taken from all the troops both Georgians and others, he published aloud the treachery of the emir of Georgia, proved it to the satisfaction of all the chiefs, named all the accomplices, and condemned them to death, which was instantly executed. Thirty Georgians were beheaded, without their countrymen, who were witnesses of their chastisement, making the smallest attempt to defend their prince or their principal officers; those that were spared thinking themselves happy to have escaped the proscription.

J.C. 16  
Heg. 10  
& 103  
The gr  
vizier a  
rives at  
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nishes t  
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of Georg

Whatever services the grand vizier could render his master against Persia, his presence would have been of greater use at Constantinople. Amurath, yet too young to govern by himself, was obliged to leave the government in a great measure to a caimacan who did not possess either the ability or good intentions of Chafis Ali.

Severit  
Amurath

The

J.C. 1628.  
 Heg. 1037,  
 & 1038.

The young prince was accustomed to the order which his prime minister had established at Constantinople. He was often irritated at the faults committed under his eyes. He often expressed his displeasure to the viziers or bashaws of the bench, when they had made an ill use of their power; so much so, that he struck the captain bashaw, his brother-in-law, because the Cossack corsairs came and insulted the port of Constantinople with impunity, and took two barks and sunk another, under the cannon of the two light-towers. Another time he caused the kislar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, to be strangled, because he had not been able to give the divan an exact account of the treasure of the mosques, though this officer alleged, by way of justification, that the valid sultaneſs had disposed of what was missing from the sacred treasury. (It is thus they call the treasury of the mosques.) Amurath fancied that an extreme severity would cause his youth to be respected. As soon as Chafis Ali was gone, he made a resolution not to pardon a single fault, desiring rather to be feared than beloved. He acted directly contrary to the princes of the West, who cause the rigour of the law to be put in force by magistrates, or other instruments of their power, and reserve to themselves the flattering right of granting pardons and mitigating the lot of criminals. Amurath often ordered executions, and never pardoned any one. This excessive severity soon displeased the inconstant



stant Ottomans. The emperor had two brothers, Bajazet and Ibrahim, brought up in the seraglio under the eyes of the valid sultaneſs, their mother. Bajazet, whom the ſultaneſs loved better than Ibrahim, had often appeared by the ſide of Amurath in thoſe ſorts of tournaments which were executed in preſence of the people, and he had ſhared the marks of admiration which Amurath always merited, when he ſhewed his ſtrength or addreſs; ſo much ſo that the emperor, grown jealous of Bajazet, made their mother fear that this monarch, already too ſanguinary, would put to death a rival who was more dangerous, becauſe Bajazet affected lenity and kindneſs, as much as his brother did ſeverity. Kiſem (that was the name of the ſultaneſs-mother) was reſpected by the emperor. She protected her ſecond ſon a long time againſt the jealousy of the eldeſt; but ſhe could not ſave Bajazet from being confined in one of the apartments of the ſeraglio. Amurath learned that the ulema aſſembled frequently; that in theſe ſorts of conventicles, Bajazet was lamented, Amurath's ſeverity was blamed, and the revolutions effected by a diſcontented ſoldiery were brought on the carpet. The monarch, as yet too young to be ſenſible of fear, proſcribed the muſti, the chief of the ulema, who had not a little contributed to make him emperor; and, notwithſtanding the opinion of all the Muſſulmen, who regard the head of their pontiff as ſacred, he had him ſtrangled in ſecret, as likewiſe

J.C. 1628. several effendis his accomplices. This severity,  
 Heg. 1037,  
 & 1038. just or not, was without precedent. All the  
 Mussulmen exclaimed that one could not, without a crime, touch the life of the musti, or of the least of the effendis. The more the people appeared discontented, the more Amurath affected to appear in public. The day the musti's death was rumoured abroad, the emperor appeared in the Hippodrom, not like his predecessors, with a great retinue and surrounded by a triumphal pomp, but accompanied by a few janissaries, with whom he tried his strength and skill in throwing the lance and javelin. These precautions secured him constantly from the fate of Othman and Mustapha. The Turks, accustomed to respect bodily strength, conceived a high opinion of a prince who could pierce armour, or who, at a great distance, could shoot an arrow into a small circle. Another way which Amurath always made use of effectively to prevent revolts, was to forbid assemblies of every kind. Constantinople, during the preceding reigns, was full of smoking rooms and taverns, where people drank, not wine nor any fermented liquor, but sherbet, a sort of diluted syrup, and water in which they mixed opium. Amurath forbade, under most grievous punishments, first, the use of opium and snuff, secondly, every kind of assembly; so that no barber or artisan, let him be who he would, could receive more than three persons at a time into his shop. He ordered that every body should

He forbids  
 very kind  
 of assembly,  
 and  
 proscribes  
 the use of  
 snuff.

should retire to his house at a certain hour; and that after that time there should be neither fire nor candle seen. These new laws, to which the people had great difficulty to submit themselves, occasioned rigorous proceedings and innumerable executions, so much so, that the emperor had the streets patrolled all night by bostangis, placing himself often at their head, who fired unmercifully on all they met. Amurath had such an aversion for snuff, that he would not permit one of his subjects to make use of it; he even abused the valid sultanes, though he was at the same time full of respect for her, because she made use of this powder; and for the same reason withdrew his favors from an assaky who had been very dear to him.

But Amurath was far from having the same dislike for wine. Though the law of Mahomet is so severe in this respect, the emperor had no sooner tasted that dangerous liquor, than he could no longer refrain from it; and, in spite of the remonstrances of the mufti and all the ulema, he permitted it to be drunk publicly. Prince Cantimir relates, from several Turkish historians, how the young emperor, who had never before tasted this liquor, habituated himself to it, to such a degree, that he would often get dead drunk, which shortened his days.

One day, as Amurath was ranging the streets of Constantinople, with a small retinue, as he often did, a man, who fell in his way, instead of stepping aside and prostrating himself on the

J.C. 1628.  
Heg. 1037,  
& 1038.

earth, like all the Turks, with a promptitude that has more the appearance of fright than respect, stopped before the prince, and began to look at him in a laughing, jeering manner, which Amurath was not accustomed to. It was to no purpose that the chiaus called to this rash fellow to kiss the dust before the most powerful of monarchs; the drunken man (for this was one) began to laugh, and, approaching nearer to Amurath, familiarly asked him to sell him Constantinople. This prince had never seen any one before who did not tremble at his presence, or endeavour to discover in his looks his absolute pleasure. The audacity of this fellow astonished, and, in some respects, pleased him. The sultan asked him what he would give for the capital of the world. "Thou shalt be satisfied," replied the drunken man: "I will buy thee likewise, if thou wilt sell thyself; and the son of a slave shall have a good price." (The Turks, when they are displeased with their sovereign, call him by this name, as the emperors' mothers are always slaves.) Amurath had this fellow conducted to the seraglio. He ordered that he should be let repose 'till the next day in a magnificent apartment, where he slept as soundly as if he had never seen the emperor. When he awoke, Becri (that was his name) was as much frightened at what he learned, as he had been astonished at first at the pomp which surrounded him. Knowing that he was going to appear before the sultan,

fultan, he provided himself with a goblet of wine, those that guarded him having orders to refuse him nothing. As soon as he came before Amurath, the prince, asked him ironically what he would give for Constantinople and the liberty of the emperor. "This here," replied Becri, presenting his goblet and affecting as much as he could the gaiety of the last evening; "wine is better than all the kingdoms in the world, and only those know its value that are its votaries." Amurath, who had never drunk any, was tempted to taste it. He found this liquor excellent; and, diverting himself with Becri, soon emptied the goblet. The inebriation which followed appeared to him at first an agreeable state: having at length lost his reason, he fell asleep. As he felt on awaking a violent headache, his master in drunkenness prescribed him for remedy the same quantity of wine as he had taken the day before. These repeated specimens accustomed the young sultan so much to wine, and to him who had let him into the secret, that he could no longer live without either of them. The emperor gave no other place to Becri, than that of his companion in debauchery, which he had so well merited. This man never left Amurath afterward. He assisted at all his councils, without any other title than the favor and pleasure of the prince; and by the ascendancy which he had acquired over his master, he sometimes procured

J.C. 1628.-  
Heg. 1037,  
to 1038.

J.C. 1629, cured the recall of the death warrants which this  
& 1630.  
Heg. 1038, sanguinary monarch had issued too rashly.  
to 1040.

Notwithstanding this debasing passion, Amurath no way renounced the desire of repressing every appearance of rebellion throughout his empire. The grand vizier, Chafis Ali, more formed to govern men than to command armies, had already made two campaigns against the Persians with different success, both in their country and in the provinces lost a short time before by the Turks. The Ottoman army had at first been victorious: the Turks several times beat this Persian cavalry, which presented itself only by parties to the attacks of an enemy whose whole forces were united. But the sopher, Zaid Mirza, thought it would be best to make use of the same mode of defence against these brave enemies, as his grand-father, Shah Abbas, had. He ordered his country to be laid waste, already very steril, and opposed only burning sands and arid deserts to this victorious army, accustomed to a happy abundance, the ordinary companion of prosperity. The Turks suffered more from fatigue and hunger than they had before from the sword of the Persians. Chafis Ali retreated; and after having concluded his first campaign more unfortunately than he had begun it, he resolved in the spring to undertake the siege of Bagdad, before which the Ottomans had already failed several times. This attempt was as unsuccessful as the former ones, and more bloody. The efforts of the janissaries,

Campaigns  
in Persia,  
both un-  
fortunate..

nissaries, and the obstinacy of the grand vizier, only increased the carnage. Chafis Ali learned, with as much surprise as chagrin, that the soldiers refused to come to reinforce his army, and that, on the rumour of what his troops had suffered, both in the Persian expedition and during the siege of Bagdad, the bashaws and sangiacs were unable to enlist any more soldiers. The grand vizier, already advanced in age and weighed down with the fatigues of a toilsome war, was attacked, during the siege, by a disorder, which he immediately foresaw would be fatal to him. This sage minister employed the little strength left him in giving his master good advice. He wrote him, that it was better to effectually conquer his own dominions, that is to say, make his subjects respect him, than to think of vanquishing enemies so distant from the centre of his power; that he would be formidable abroad, only in proportion to the obedience of his own subjects; that, for several reigns past, the example of the bashaws so often in rebellion, and of a seditious soldiery accustomed to give law to their masters, had taught all the Mussulmen to shake off the yoke of authority; that, in a word, it was necessary to conclude a peace with the Persians, in order to make preparation for attacking them more gloriously hereafter.

J.C. 1629,  
& 1630.  
Heg. 1038,  
to 1040.

The grand vizier dies before Bagdad which he besieges. In his last days he writes his master to advise him to a peace.

Amurath greatly regretted his grand vizier, who died a few days after writing this letter, and he followed his last advice. The emperor first

Disadvantageous peace with Persia.

took

J.C. 1629,  
& 1630.  
Heg. 1038,  
to 1040. took all the timars from those that had refused to carry arms against Persia, without the other services that they had rendered being able to prevail on him to favor any one; after which he released a Persian from the Seven Towers who had been invested with the character of ambassador, and sent him to Persia, with proposals for an accommodation, by which the sophi was left all his conquests. Zaid Mirza took care not to refuse this treaty; and the Ottoman troops, who had lost their chief, retired from the province of Bagdad.

J.C. 1631,  
& 1632.  
Heg. 1040,  
to 1042. Regeb bashaw, the emperor's brother-in-law, was raised to the dignity of grand vizier. In order to enter into the views of his master, he pointed out to him the emir Facardin as the greatest enemy that he had in his dominions. He told him, that this prince, who feigned to profess Islamism, boasted at the same time of being descended from one of those Christian families, who, during the crusades, had done so much mischief to the Mussulmen; that, for several generations the Facardins had governed an usurped state, which paid only a tribute very inferior to that which the territory of the Druses ought to support; and that, whilst they were oppressing the true Believers, it was equally unjust and dangerous to leave in the middle of the grand seignior's dominions, an usurper, the enemy of the monarchy and Islamism, who was only an object of jealousy and an example of rebellion for all the bashaws and sangiacs. The grand vizier sent to  
the



the bashaw of Damascus, called Emod, to give the Porte the necessary information respecting the emir Facardin's conduct. The crimes laid to the charge of this prince were, that he openly favored the Christians, and that he had himself passed several years in Italy, leaving the reins of government to his son. It was said that at his return he had resumed the sovereignty of the Druses, in order to build several monasteries for Christian monks, particularly at Sayd, or Sidon, his capital; that he had a great many Christians in his pay; that, though he went himself once a year to mosque, and wore the turban, an unequivocal mark of Islamism, he was present sometimes, in the greatest secrecy, at the Christian worship; that he was continually sowing divisions between the bashaws of Damascus, Tripoli, Syria, Gaza, and all his other neighbours; that he excited them by turns to revolt, in order to destroy these governors by one another; and that his project had been for a long time past to get possession of the Holy-land, through favor of the many disorders which he stirred up in Asia. Emod was intrusted with the direction of the war which Amurath resolved to carry on against Facardin. Whilst this bashaw was collecting troops from all the neighbouring sangiacates, Amurath sent forty galleys against the prince of the Druses, which went first and anchored in the port of Tripoli.

Meanwhile,

J.C. 1631,  
& 1632.  
Heg. 1040,  
to 1042.

The emir  
Ali, the  
son of Fa-  
cardin,  
valiantly  
defends  
his coun-  
try.

Meanwhile, Facardin got information of the preparation that the bashaw of Damascus was making against him. He raised in his dominions, which were but of small extent, twenty thousand men, soldiers of the country or auxiliary troops. These warriors, almost all Christians, promised Facardin to die in defence of his sovereignty: we shall see that they were as good as their word. The emir, having put Ali, the eldest of his sons, at their head, whom he had declared his successor on his going to Italy, sent this little army to stop up the narrow passes which defended his estates, and retired himself into the fortrefs of Baruth, the second place in his dominions, saying, that as to peace or war it was an affair of his son's, as he was the lawful sovereign of the Druses. The bashaw of Damascus, who had assembled from all Asia, even from Egypt, six times the number of men that prince Ali had, continued a long time before the narrow passes without being able to force them. The campaign was long, toilsome, and bloody. Facardin's soldiers neither gave nor asked quarter. Their losses were irreparable. Emod attacked often with fresh troops these soldiers, whose number rather than courage wasted, and who, in an advantageous situation, could expect no other success than to retard their defeat. The young prince Ali, during eighteen months of a most bloody war, shewed a most daring courage and an understanding greatly above his age. He was several times

vanquisher ;

vanquisher ; but his victories too often repeated cost him his bravest soldiers, and brought on his fall. Emod at length penetrated the territories, and took Saphet, Balbec, and Acre. Prince Ali perished in a last battle, in which, of all the soldiers that had engaged in his cause, only two hundred remained, who were unable to obtain the death which they sought sword in hand. In this extremity, old Facardin saw that all resistance would be useless. He abandoned Baruth, and concealed himself in some caverns of mount Libanus, from whence he wrote to the emperor, requesting permission to come to Constantinople and plead his own cause. He protested his innocence and fidelity to the Ottoman sultans, of whom his ancestors and himself had always been feudatories. The Ottoman fleet entered the port of Sidon. Baruth, and all the castles belonging to Facardin, opened their gates to the vanquisher. Whilst the unfortunate emir wandered from cavern to cavern, his subjects concealed him with fidelity ; they took care to nourish him, notwithstanding the cruel precaution of Emod, who promised a large sum of money to any one who should bring him the head of this unfortunate prince. Old Facardin was so beloved, that, among so many men accustomed to rapine, not one of them would purchase his fortune at the price of his master's blood.

J.C. 1631,  
& 1632.  
Heg. 1040,  
to 1042.

Nineteen  
thousand  
eight hun-  
dred men  
perish in  
this de-  
fence, with  
their chief.

A price is  
set on the  
head of the  
emir Fa-  
cardin.  
He con-  
ceals him-  
self in  
caverns.

Meanwhile, Amurath, who knew that Facardin had treasures buried in the ground, and that but

J.C. 1631, & 1632.  
Heg. 1040, to 1043.

very little money had been found in each of the fortresses taken, sent another bashaw to the Druses, who revoked the reward offered by that of

Damascus, and forbade, on the contrary, any attempt to be made on the emir's life, declaring his head as sacred as the emperor's; but a double reward was offered for discovering where he was. Facardin, having learned that his life was no longer sought; that Giafar (that was the name of the new bashaw) caused to be published by sound of trumpet that Amurath expected the prince of the Druses at Constantinople, where he was desirous that he should repair in perfect liberty, without any violence being done either to him or his people; reappeared immediately. After having gathered together all the gold that he had buried in different places, he set forward for Constantinople with an escort of four hundred horse well mounted, well armed, and richly clothed, carrying with them the remains of their master's fortune, in order to purchase his liberty and life. Fourteen camels were loaded with these riches, which he openly displayed, because, knowing the desire that the emperor had to increase his treasures, Facardin considered what he was carrying to Constantinople as his safeguard, which four hundred brave fellows were well able to defend against the enterprises of freebooters.

The prince of the Druses traversed the territories of his sovereign paramount, rather as a rich feudatory

This barbarous order is revoked. The emir sets forward with his treasures for Constantinople.

feudatory going to pay homage, than like a van- J.C. 1631,  
quished enemy going to solicit pardon. -The & 1632.  
splendor of his retinue commanded respect and Heg. 1040,  
excited general curiosity. to 1042.

The news of this march having reached Constantinople, the emperor would fain see more of this prince, of whom he had heard so many things, than he possibly could, considering the immense distance at which the Ottoman emperors keep their feudatories. Amurath took with him the retinue, and assumed the dress, of a bashaw, and advanced into Asia within about two days journey of Scutari. Having met Facardin, the emperor introduced himself as a bashaw of the bench, or one of the viziers that compose the divan. He invited the prince of the Druses to relate to him the history of his fall, promising to intercede with Amurath for him. The old Facardin had been better informed than the emperor wished. Well knowing that he was speaking to the master whom he had so much interest to please, he entered into a most ingenious conversation with this pretended bashaw on his submission to the house of Ottoman; the malice of his enemies, who had punished him for having dared render the Druses happy, whilst the neighbouring people were groaning under the oppression of bashaws and sangiacs; and on the necessity of protecting the commerce of the Franks, and consequently to favor, at least indirectly, the Christian religion. These ideas, which.

The emperor goes out against him in disguise. He converses with Facardin, and grants him his confidence.

J.C. 1631, & 1632.  
Heg. 1040, to 1042.  
which were new to Amurath, made a great impression on him. He listened to Facardin with the greatest attention. On his return to Con-

stantinople he loaded the emir with honors, which at first excited jealousy and soon after general indignation, especially when it became public that Amurath thought of sending back Facardin, and a son which he had left, to Sidon to govern the Druses, and continue their protection to the Christian religion. The treasures and eloquence of Facardin had such influence over the emperor, that there was reason to fear lest this absolute prince should change the principles of the government, founded on the religion of Mahomet, so revered by all the Turks. The valid sultaneſs, the muſti, and the grand vizier exerted every effort againſt this new favorite. The muſti, more ardent than the reſt, cited the Alcoran, which unmercifully proſcribes all that, after having profeſſed Iſlamism, dare turn Chriſtians or feign to have embraced that belief; and he convicted the prince of the Druses of having greatly neglected all the rites and ceremonies of Iſlamism, even of having prayed in a Chriſtian temple. In fine, all the enemies of Facardin, thoſe to whom his credit gave moſt diſpleaſure, remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly to Amurath that his right over his ſubjects had no other foundation than the Muſſulman religion, and that the confidence which he gave Facardin tended to undermine that religion, that the ſultan abandoned this

The muſti and the other miniſters accuſe Facardin, deſtroy his favor, and ſucceed in getting him ſtrangled.

this prince, whom he had loaded with honors for several months past, and to whom he appeared to have given all his confidence. As the old emir was assisting at the divan, agreeably to the power which he had received from the emperor, he heard with astonishment a bashaw of the bench read aloud several accusations against him, all tending to one end, that of having professed by turns Islamism and Christianity. The emir rose to begin his justification: the musti, being present at this divan, stopped his proceeding, by reading a fetfa which condemned to death all relapses or hypocrites, professing one religion outwardly, and retaining another in the bottom of their heart. It was to no purpose that the old Facardin denied his being a Christian, or that he pleaded the sacred word of the emperor, who had drawn him to Constantinople under promise of life and liberty. The grand seignior did not assist at the divan; though, with great repugnance, he set the seal of his authority to the musti's fetfa. The old Facardin was strangled; and his son, scarcely otherwise than a child, was brought up among the icoglans. The province of the Druses has been since governed by bashaws.

A very short time after the execution of Facardin, the grand vizier, Regeb, met with the same fate that he had procured the prince of the Druses, notwithstanding the credit of his wife and the valid sultaness his mother-in-law. Insurrections had been mentioned to have broken

out

J.C. 1631,  
& 1632.  
Heg. 1040,  
to 1042.

Death of  
the grand  
vizier  
Regeb.

J.C. 1631, out in Bursa, Magnesia, and even in Transylvania  
& 1632.  
Heg. 1040, in Europe. All these disorders had been stopped  
to 1042.  
in the beginning, and their authors punished as soon as known. Regeb's enemies, who were numerous, because it was well known that the emperor disliked him, accused the grand vizier of having raised up these rebellions in order to arrogate to himself the merit of quelling them; they pretended even that three victims sacrificed to the peace had undertaken the war entirely by the instigation of the prime minister. The grand vizier's death was determined on, without his having a suspicion himself of the least disgrace. As he was paying his respects to his master with the rest of the bashaws, Amurath ordered him, under some pretext, to go into an adjoining room, where he found a chiau accompanied by six executioners. The officer having declared to Regeb that he had but a few moments to say his prayers, he resigned himself to his destiny without resistance.

Troubles  
in Tran-  
sylvania,  
occasioned  
by the  
Poles.

Abassa, the governor of Bosnia who for several years had employed his talents in Asia against his master, knew how to render them useful in Europe to this master who had pardoned him. The first campaign he beat, once near Choczin and another time near Rineczug, the Poles, who had taken advantage of some disorders in Transylvania to break the treaties. The following year, as they had numerous forces on foot, Amurath consented to a peace, which he thought necessary.

J.C. 1633.  
Heg. 1042,  
& 1043.

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He renounced every kind of tribute from the **Cossacks**, on condition of the Poles' not giving any more succour to the Transylvanians; and that the waywodes of Walachia and Moldavia, who had not yet received the investiture of the Porte, should receive it on the recommendation of the king of Poland. Amurath, only twenty-four years old, had pacified a great empire both at home and abroad, which his predecessors had left him shattered by a number of storms. He had made himself formidable to these haughty janisfaries and spahis accustomed to judge their masters, and who had been so fatal to some of them.

J.C. 1693.  
Heg. 1048,  
& 1049.

They are  
pacified.

In order to keep up this submission, Amurath was determined to shew himself worthy of commanding soldiers, and prove to his people that the hand of the executioner was not the only way which he knew of shedding blood. He resolved to go himself against the Persians, and recover what heretofore he had been constrained to give up. Pretexts were not wanting to go to war with this nation, which was never mentioned in the divan but as a perfidious, usurping people. The eagerness of the Persians to attack the Ottoman empire, when it was rent by insurrections, sufficiently authorised Amurath to make them feel the effects of his resentment as soon as he thought his forces recruited. The grand seignior went to Scutari to pass the winter which preceded his first campaign, in order to see the troops with his own eyes, and exercise with the soldiers who

Prepara-  
tions a-  
gainst Per-  
sia.

J.C. 1633.  
Heg. 1042,  
& 1043. were to be the companions of his future labours. A rigid œconomy and frequent confiscations had filled his treasury. The preparations for the war were made with great cost. The new vizier, Mehemet, had magazines distributed at an immense expence throughout the intended rout of the imperial army, which was to be increased by the junction of several corps, as the emperor approached the places that he meant to conquer.

J.C. 1634.  
Heg. 1043,  
& 1044. Whilst the emperor of the Turks and his vizier were yet at Scutari, a disturbance arose among the French inhabitants of Galata and Pera, which the Turks, who had at first occasioned it by the contempt which they shew for the law of nations, appeased in the same manner, by usurping over the ministers of a foreign prince an authority which reason and the laws of mankind reprobate. In order to enter more fully into the particulars of this quarrel, it will be necessary to go back a little.

After count Cefy had resided at the Porte seventeen years, in quality of ambassador from France, Lewis XIII. thought proper to send the marquis of Marcheville in his place, who, going to Constantinople in a ship of war, fell in with the captain bashaw, off the isle of Scio, cruising with the Turkish fleet, as he often did since the Cossacks entered the straits of the Dardanelles. The captain bashaw ordered the French vessel to lower her flag. When the bashaw was told by way of excuse, that she carried the French ambassador,

ambassador, the Turkish admiral sent orders to the ambassador to come on board his ship to pay his respects to the admiral of the sea and bring him presents. The marquis of Marcheville, irritated, instantly ordered the captain galley to be saluted with five guns, which the Turk had demanded; but he ordered them to be loaded with ball, and particularly charged the gunners to aim at the bashaw, whom he distinguished on the deck by the richness of his dress. Some Turks and some Frenchmen, not so warm as the captain bashaw and the ambassador, prevented this unequal engagement. The marquis of Marcheville was obliged to go on board the captain bashaw's galley; but he made him no other compliments than that he would demand his head from the emperor Amurath at his first audience, and that he would declare war against the Porte in the name of the king his master, if he could not obtain it.

J.C. 1634.  
Heg. 1043,  
& 1044.

Insult  
given the  
marquis of  
Marche-  
ville, the  
new am-  
bassador  
from  
France.  
Means  
which he  
takes to re-  
dress him-  
self.

However irritated the admiral of the sea might be, he durst not push this violation of the law of nations any further. But he retained a strong resentment against this presumptuous Frenchman, and resolved to ruin him sooner or later. The insult which the captain bashaw had given was so enormous, that the marquis of Marcheville would have been signally revenged of him, if he had followed the advice of count Cesy; but the new ambassador having been presented to the grand vizier at the same time as his predecessor, who

J.C. 1634.  
Heg. 1043,  
& 1044. took his leave, the marquis of Marcheville spoke of nothing in his harangue but of the insults that he had received. He expressed himself with so much ostentation, and threatened the resentment of the king his master with so much arrogance, that the haughty vizier silenced the druggerman in the middle of his translation of this discourse. The marquis of Marcheville, who had refused to listen to the advice of count Cefy, retired full of despair, and greatly enraged against his countryman. The count had made himself responsible, as we have already observed, for the debt of a collector of the customs, or rather had become bound for the merchants, the original sureties for this insolvent collector. Contrary to the law of nations, which will not admit of an ambassador's being arrested in any case whatsoever, an order was given to retain count Cefy, his family, and all his effects, at Constantinople, 'till the debts for which he had become surety should be discharged. The marquis of Marcheville, whose duty it was to remove all difficulties as much as in his power, was continually starting new ones, and protected a set of rascally merchants, who refused to discharge a debt contracted by the former ambassador entirely for their interest. Marcheville not only studied to make his predecessor experience all the mortifications which he could think of, but likewise embroiled himself more and more with the officers of the Porte, who were not accustomed

His broils  
with count  
Cefy.

accustomed to see Frenchmen either so imperious or perverse. One day the French ambassador concealed slaves, even renegades, in order to embark them secretly : the musti called it sacrilege, and the caimacan demanded in vain the fugitives whom he knew to be in the French palace, and whom he durst not seek there. The innocent perished for the guilty : an unfortunate Armenian druggerman was hanged, because he had been by order of the ambassador to affirm to the caimacan a thing that the kiaia proved to be a falsity. Another time the ambassador charged sword in hand, at the head of several of his servants, a small number of janissaries, who, as it is well known, carry no arms either in Constantinople or the suburbs, because they had not made room for him soon enough to pass. This imprudence occasioned an order from the emperor to disarm all the Franks, the ambassador's people, and the ambassador himself, who resolved not to go out of his palace again, because they would constrain him to appear without a sword. The privilege of going armed was allowed to none but count Cesy. The captain bashaw, the declared enemy of Marcheville, saw with pleasure this inconsiderate man equally hated by the Mussulmen and his countrymen. He did not despair of being revenged for the injury which the marquis had designed to do him. An opportunity offered almost as soon as the emperor and the grand vizier had fixed their camp at Scutari

J.C. 1634  
 Heg. 1047  
 & 1044-

J.C. 1634.  
Heg. 1043,  
& 1044.

tari with intention to march into Persia. The captain bashaw was made caimacan to command in Constantinople in the absence of the monarch and grand vizier. A few days after this nomination, some vessels arrived at Constantinople from Provence, laden with a great deal of merchandise, all belonging to these merchants for whom count Cesy had become bound and whose treacherous conduct retained him at Pera. The count, who knew that this merchandise was expected, had had the precaution to obtain an order of council from the court of France, and a decree from the divan, which permitted him to seize every thing that he could find belonging to these knavish debtors. By virtue of these two respectable authorities, count Cesy caused all the vessels arrived from Provence to be delivered to chiaus, who do the duty of bailiffs at Constantinople. The marquis of Marcheville, who endeavoured to protect these merchants against the count, whom he hated, wanted to obtain a replevy of this seizure, under pretext of the urgent necessity for the merchandise on board these vessels. There was nothing but an order from the caimacan which could alter a decree of the divan; and this minister refused to give such order, unless he had the particular consent of count Cesy. A great number of Franks, interested directly or indirectly in the sale of these effects, claimed the protection of the marquis of Marcheville. The latter, attending only to his own hatred, authorised the French

French merchants, with their friends and all that took part in this quarrel, to go in a body and ask the count's consent, and obtain it at any rate.

J.C. 1634-  
Hég. 1043,  
& 1044.

The late ambassador was still under the protection of the law of nations. These people having rushed into his house, which was but small, and contained but few servants, he had hardly time to take shelter with his wife and an infant son in a place of safety. The caimacan being informed of the tumult, and knowing the cause, sent some capiggis to quell the riot and put as many Franks in irons as they could lay hands on; after which, having given count Cesy a guard, he sent a' chiau to Scutari to give the emperor an exact account of what had happened. On the return of

this officer, the caimacan sent for the marquis of Marcheville, who began to be uneasy for the issue of this affair. He signified to him that it was the emperor's pleasure that he should leave Constantinople immediately, without giving him time even to take with him what was necessary. A saick, into which the ambassador was put, conducted him on board a large French vessel that weighed anchor the same instant, and which two Turkish galleys were ordered to tow out of the port. The caimacan then sent for all the European ambassadors and count Cesy. He declared to them, that the violent and unruly conduct of the marquis of Marcheville had forced his highness to turn him out of his dominions, and that the emperor desired count Cesy to resume his embassy,

How and on what account he is driven from Constantinople.

till

J.C. 1634.  
Heg. 1043,  
& 1044.

'till it should please the king his master to name another minister. The count replied, that a monarch, who caused himself to be represented by an ambassador, had alone the right to name that ambassador, and that he could not, without new orders, exercise a power which had ceased by the arrival of his successor; he proposed even to admit another Frenchman to this honor, whom Lewis XIII. had sent invested with a character to terminate the security affair. The caimacan again read over the catcherif of his master aloud, and constrained count Cesy to conform himself thereto, ordering him to repair with his family to the French palace. All the Franks had reason to be satisfied with this administration which they had already experienced. The count recommenced his ministry by obtaining the enlargement of those that had come and insulted him in his house.

Count Cesy is obliged to resume his embassy.

J.C. 1634.  
Heg. 1043,  
& 1044.

The emperor sends troops into Transylvania, to sustain Betlem against the new waywode of Ragotzki.

The grand seignior, who remained still at Scutari, was taken up with European affairs, whilst preparation was making for his departure for Persia. Betlem, pretending a right to Transylvania, on account of his being of the same name with the last waywode, had a formidable rival in the person of Ragotzki, a Hungarian gentleman, very powerful, elected by a numerous party, and to whose election Stephen Betlem had himself consented. All the Transylvanians had taken arms in favor of Ragotzki. Stephen Betlem, who had repented of having consented to the



the election of this prince, implored the assistance of the sovereign paramount of Transylvania. He was admitted to an audience of the emperor Amurath, where he pleaded his cause with great ability, assuring the monarch that it was the fidelity of the Betlems to the house of Ottoman which had caused all the misfortunes of his family in Transylvania; that the Transylvanians punished him because his ancestors had always been protected by the Turks, and ever in subjection to their high sovereigns. Amurath, actuated by a principle of equity, perhaps too with intention to keep up a constant war among his Christian neighbours, ordered the bashaw of Buda to march against Ragotzki with the troops which he left in Europe.

J.C. 1634.  
Heg. 1043,  
& 1044.

At length the emperor began his march for Persia in the beginning of the spring. During all this campaign, Amurath affected to shew himself continually to the whole army, and to share, in some respects, the fatigues of the soldier, without its lessening in the least the sort of worship which the Ottomans pay their emperor. He would often march on foot at the head of some corps of janissaries, or on horseback with some squadrons of spahis, without laying aside the pomp which always surrounds the sultans. He affected a martial appearance, always wore rich armour; and never missed an occasion of shewing his skill. Though so much given to wine, he would fain appear sober in presence of the soldiers,

J.C. 1635.  
Heg. 1044,  
& 1045.  
Amurath  
departs for  
Persia. ●

J.C. 1635.  
Heg. 1044,  
to 1045.

He re-  
presses the  
disorders.

He distri-  
butes ti-  
mars in  
Armenia.

He lays  
siege to  
Revan.

diers, who ought to be so; and it was remarked, that whilst he was with the army, he never shewed himself intoxicated before his troops. His military occupations did not prevent his carefully examining the country which he passed through, and paying attention to the complaints which were made him against several bashaws and fan-giacs. He had a bashaw of Erzerum strangled for extortions. Amurath, traversing the two Armenias, was vexed to see these provinces so depopulated. Armenia major had been ruined by the sophi Shah Abbas; who, according to his custom, had burnt all the villages and towns of this great province. Lower Armenia had not recovered the emigrations ordered forty years before, on account of the frequent rebellions of the inhabitants. Amurath, who wished to re-people this country, had at first meditated to recall all the families that had left it; but as that project was difficult to execute, and being better advised, he formed a number of timars in these two provinces, which he gave to the poorest of the soldiers, who undertook to cultivate them. The Persian cavalry had at first appeared in the environs of Revan, which Amurath threatened to besiege; but Zaid Mirza knew how to fight like Shah Abbas, that is to say, he would not oppose a fine cavalry to fire and fatigue against an army five or six times more numerous. The sophi of Persia provided Revan and Bagdad with two gar-risons well chosen: fifteen thousand men of the  
best

best troops were left in each of these towns; and having laid waste more than three hundred miles of country, according to the invariable custom of the Persians, he brought back his army into fine pastures behind Casbin, opposing to his enemy deserts, arid sands, an inevitable scarcity, and fatigues which the spahis and timarians had not been accustomed to for a long time past.

J.C. 1635.  
Heg. 1044,  
& 1045.

Amurath laid siege to Revan, as he had promised. This strong place might have held out a long time, if it had been well defended; but a governor, called Gumir, who commanded there, surrendered it to the Turkish emperor at the end of three weeks, without being constrained to it either by scarcity, or the state of the breaches, or any plausible reason. This cowardice, or rather perfidy, was recompensed by a close intimacy between the emperor and Gumir, so much so, that this Persian and the drunkard Becri became the courtiers most familiar with Amurath: he loaded them with favors the rest of his life, not being able to live without their society, and getting drunk with them whenever the avocations of a military life would allow it. The news of the taking of Revan occasioned festivals and great rejoicings at Constantinople.

Revan is  
surrendered  
to him by a  
Persian,  
who be-  
comes his  
favorite.

Amurath sullied this first success by a murder which was more atrocious, because a base jealousy was the sole cause of it.\* Bajazet, the eldest of his two brothers, and who gave umbrage to the

Amurath  
has his  
brother  
Bajazet put  
to death.

VOL. III.

H 2

emperor,

\* Racine has made the death of this prince the subject of a Tragedy.

J.C. 1635. emperor, had been preserved 'till then from the  
 Heg. 1044, fatal bowstring by the affection of the valid sul-  
 & 1045. tanefs, and by the influence which the presence  
 and tears of a mother gave her over Amurath ;  
 but when he was at a distance from her, his ha-  
 tred, which never decreased, no longer feared any  
 obstacles. The same messenger that brought the  
 news of the taking of Revan, carried the caimacan  
 and valid an order for putting Bajazet to death.  
 This decree was more odious, because, after that  
 prince, there was but one left of the Ottoman  
 blood ; for Amurath had lost all his sons. His  
 younger brother, Ibrahim, whom he permitted to  
 live because he had nothing to fear from him,  
 appeared very unworthy of reigning. The valid  
 sultanefs, who had it not in her power to reproach  
 the emperor, could still less stop the hands of the  
 executioners. It is said that the young Bajazet, en-  
 dowed with extraordinary strength, killed the four  
 first that attempted to strangle him : at length he  
 was overcome by numbers ; and these news,  
 spread in Constantinople in the middle of the fire  
 works for the taking of Revan, and the exag-  
 gerated success of Amurath against the Persians,  
 so much abated the public joy, that the emperor,  
 at his return, did not receive the acclamations  
 which he expected. He came back with his vi-  
 zier, after having taken some castles ; and left  
 the army under the command of Jambolat, one  
 of the bashaws of the bench.

He returns  
 to Constan-  
 tinople.

On

On his return to Constantinople he learned that his European army had been unfortunate. The bashaw of Buda had fought the enemy three times, and as often had the soldiers of Ragotzki, attached to a persecuted prince, and firm in the cause of him whom they regarded as the work of their hands, beaten these troops collected in haste, badly armed and disciplined, and who were unconcerned about the success of a war which they made against their will. The bashaw of Buda had retired to Lippha, leaving Ragotzki master of the field. The haughty sultan was so hurt at this ill success, that it was thought he would abandon Persia to carry all his forces into Transylvania; but, on better reflection, he would not renounce his success begun in Asia, still less the conquests which he considered as certain, to give Transylvania one waywode in preference to another. Ragotzki, tho' vanquisher, offered presents and a considerable tribute, and consented to hold his principality of the Ottoman empire, as all his predecessors had done, which Amurath accepted. The only condition stipulated in the treaty in favor of the house of Betlem, was the restitution of some lands which had formerly composed his inheritance. A private gentleman of Transylvania, possessing nothing but courage and the love of his countrymen, who had raised him to be their master, had the glory to vanquish the Turks, to drive them from his country, and to conclude a peace with them, nearly such as he pleased to dictate.

J.C. 1635.  
Heg. 1044,  
& 1045.

He learns  
that his  
troops  
have been  
beaten by  
Ragotzki.

He receives  
his tribute  
and ac-  
knowledges  
him for  
waywode.

Amurath

J.C. 1636.  
Heg. 1045,  
& 1046.

The khan  
of the  
Tartars  
has the  
bashaw  
and cadi  
of Caffa  
strangled.

Amurath was desirous of displaying to his people the splendor of festivals and rejoicings on account of his success in Persia, in order to dissemble the disgrace of the Transylvanian treaty; but amidst these rejoicings, which only heightened the discontent of the people on account of Bajazet's death, the emperor received disagreeable news from all quarters. The khan of the Tartars of Crimea, who had been ordered by the Porte to arm against Persia, had made no preparation to obey. The bashaw of Caffa and the cadi of the same town, exasperated at the little attention which this tributary prince paid to the commands of their master, wrote to the khan some haughty, menacing letters, without considering that they had no troops to sustain the tone which they presumed to make use of to a powerful sovereign. The Tartar had no difficulty to take Caffa; and, protesting constantly his fidelity to the Porte, he had the two Turkish officers strangled, to punish a conduct which he said the emperor Amurath would undoubtedly disclaim. The news of this outrage were scarcely arrived at Constantinople, when they learned likewise that Asoph, a strong commercial town, situated on the Don not far from the Black-sea, the key of all the Persian commerce, and one of the best sea-ports in the Levant, had been surprised by a band of Cossacks driven out of Poland, who had pillaged it and were attempting to maintain themselves there. The Poles and Muscovites favored

The Cossacks take  
Asoph.

this

this usurpation, because Asoph became a barrier between the Turks and them. Whilst Amurath was deliberating where he should send troops first, an express arrived from the army in Persia. These dispatches informed him, that in the middle of the frost of a rigorous winter, the sophi had marched to Revan and retaken it; that the army had not been to the succour of that place, because several sangjacs, timarians, spahis, and janissaries, had mutinied under different pretexts, and raised up a rebellion; that Jambolat, trembling for his life, had made use of lenient measures, and that he durst not order any motion for fear of risking his authority. To add to the disgrace, the emperor was at that time attacked with a most severe fit of the gout, the fruit of his intemperance. He determined to dissemble the insult which he had received from the khan of the Tartars, by highly approving the punishment of the bashaw and cadi of Caffa. He postponed to a more fortunate period the efforts which he hoped to make to recover Asoph; and, seeing the necessity of continuing the Persian war, before any other enterprize, he sent a new bashaw and cadi to Caffa, with orders to respect the khan of the Tartars, more as the ally than the tributary of the Porte.

J.C. 1636.  
Heg. 1045  
& 1046.

Revolt of  
the Turk-  
ish army  
in Persia.

The grand vizier prepared to conduct all the troops to Persia that it was possible to raise. The plague, which this year ravaged Constantinople and all Natolia, was a considerable obstacle

J.C. 1637.  
Heg. 1046,  
& 1047.

J.C. 1637,  
Heg. 1046,  
& 1047.

Mehemet  
goes and  
takes the  
command  
there.  
He hath  
Jambolat  
strangled.

stacle to the efforts of Amurath. His impatience and the pains of the gout equally tormented him.

He learned every day, with the greatest chagrin, that the soldiers which he collected against the sophi were carried off by the plague before he could send them to the army. The vizier, Mehemet, having at length departed with about sixty thousand men, joined the army at Erzerum, and found the troops to which he had brought succours in the greatest disorder. The avidity and incapacity of Jambolat had caused all the confusion. The desterdar of his army furnished the grand vizier with the proof of several depredations which had drained the military treasury. Mehemet ordered the general that he was come to succeed, to be strangled immediately. The troops that came with him brought the plague from Natolia. The grand vizier, convinced that marches and military operations would only aggravate the evil and destroy more soldiers than fire and sword, resolved, notwithstanding the orders from the Porte, to remain in the plains of Erzerum, endeavouring to strike at the root of the disorder by seasonable remedies, purifying the air with aromatics, and strengthening his convalescents with wholesome food and necessary repose. His friends informed him from Constantinople that Amurath's impatience increased every day; that he loudly blamed his conduct, which he said was too circumspect, without paying any attention to the reasons which the minister repeated to him  
in

His endeavours to  
dissipate  
the plague.



in all his dispatches for not marching his army against the enemy. At length, the sultan having learned that the Persians had laid siege to Van, a considerable fortress on the confines of Diarbekar ; that the grand vizier sent no succours thither, as he said that Van was well provisioned, the garrison numerous, and the place inaccessible, Amurath, whom the torments of the gout foured, and who was not accustomed to meet with resistance, sent an express to the aga of the janissaries, who acted as lieutenant to the grand vizier. The dispatches to this aga contained a public order to all the regiments, by which the grand vizier was deposed, and the aga of the janissaries appointed to command in his place. There was a second order addressed to this officer to have Mehemet strangled, as the latter had done by his predecessor. The grand vizier, warned of the impending danger, by private letters from Constantinople, had all the avenues on the European side guarded with the greatest attention, in order that no express might arrive without his knowledge. They brought him a bostangi sent by Amurath to the aga of the janissaries. The minister having seized on the packets which this man had brought, found in them all that we have been just relating. He did not possess sufficient resignation to bless, as several of his predecessors had done, the hour appointed for his death by his sovereign. Mehemet suppressed this sanguinary order; he assembled in a spacious place all the officers of the

J.C. 1637.  
Heg. 1046,  
& 1047.

The grand seignior, at his apparent inaction, sends orders to have him strangled.

How Mehemet prevents its execution.

J.C. 1637.  
Heg. 1046,  
& 1047.

spahis and janissaries, as low as the odas pachis and musalins; and, addressing himself to the aga whom the prince had intended to succeed him, asked if it had been possible to conduct the troops otherwise than he had done, seeing the difficulty of the marches and the plague which had afflicted the army. The aga having replied that his sagacity had foreseen every thing, and that his attention had saved more soldiers than could have been expected; that it had been impossible to attempt any military expedition, and that the grand seignior must necessarily approve such a sage conduct: the whole assembly repeated what the aga of the janissaries had just said. "My friends," says Mehemet, "if you will give me this testimony in writing, I will send it to our sublime emperor; for the enemies that we all have at Constantinople are more dangerous than the Persians." This testimony was immediately drawn up, and signed by all the assembly. Mehemet loaded the bostangi with presents in order to engage him to carry this certificate, and he continued to command the army, without saying a syllable of the two orders, of which nothing had transpired.

Meanwhile the siege of Van was raised, and the anguish which tormented Amurath was assuaged. the bostangi, having brought back to Constantinople, instead of Mehemet's head, the avow of the army, and letters from that vizier, was strangled himself for having so badly executed his commission,

commission. Mehemet had taken care not to neglect to solicit the protection of drunken Becri and Gumir the Persian, with whose influence over the mind of the emperor he was well acquainted. These two favorites served him with zeal, though there was already a grand vizier nominated, which was the caimacan Bairalm. The prince seemed to yield to the voice of the army. He wrote Mehemet a letter, in which he called him father, a title that the sultans generally give the viziers when the latter are older than the former. He approved his conduct, but re-demanded the seals of him, desiring, as he said, to ease him of a burden too heavy for his age; he invited him to repair to Constantinople, promising him all the consideration due to his long services. Mehemet, on the faith of his master's letter, left the army to return to the divan; but neither the apology of his conduct, nor Gumir, nor Becri, could save him from a considerable fine, to which the sultan thought he ought to condemn the man that was accused of having been inactive against the Persians. Amurath, throughout his whole reign, found means to fill the public treasury with confiscated property, thus turning to the good of the state the faults committed against the public welfare. The bashaw of Buda, who had been so unfortunate against the waywode Ragotzki, was put to death; and his property, as likewise that of several sangiaes accused of extortions, served to carry on the Persian war.

J.C. 1637.  
Heg. 1046,  
& 1047.

He is recalled, deposed, and condemned to pay a fine.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1047,  
& 1048.

The grand  
seignior  
takes the  
command  
of his army  
in Persia  
himself.

The sultan, whose health was re-established, and who longed to recover Bagdad, resolved to take the command of the troops himself. He increased the number of the janissaries with six thousand men, and summoned all the timarians. The severity which he had shewn at the commencement of his reign, in dispossessing all that did not constantly serve in the army, and the care that he had taken to form a great number of these military benefices, drew to Scutari, the place of general rendezvous, a numerous and brilliant cavalry. The sangiacs brought companies of asaps, who began to make use of fire-arms, though 'till then muskets had been the peculiar arms of the janissaries. It is said that the army assembled at Scutari amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand men, which was increased to double that number by the junction of different troops before it arrived at Bagdad. Amurath, affecting always to be very popular with his soldiers, marched on foot at the head of the janissaries, dressed like them, distinguished only by the egrets of his turban, and the magnificence of his arms. As he approached Iconia or Cogni, an express arrived from Constantinople, to inform him, that one of the assakys had brought him a son. This prince had been unable to preserve a single male of the many that had been born to him. The existence of his brother Ibrahim, who could give no uneasiness to Amurath, excited the murmurs of the good Mus-

He receives  
on the  
march the  
false news  
of the birth  
of a son.

fulmen,

fulmen, when they reflected that the jealousy of their master had proscribed such a worthy pillar of the throne, to preserve only an ideot of all the Ottoman race. The news of the birth of an heir gave universal pleasure throughout the camp; but it was of short duration. Two days after the arrival of the first messenger, a black eunuch of the seraglio came with a letter from the valid sultaneſs, which ſaid that a princeſs, not a prince, was come into the world. The ſurpriſe and rage of Amurath could be compared only to the pleaſure which he had ſhewn when they announced to him a ſon. He had the cruelty to have the meſſenger put to death who had brought him the falſe news, whom he had at firſt magnificently recompenſed, as if this man had been culpable for not having been well informed.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1047,  
& 1048.

This error  
is rectified  
by a ſe-  
cond letter,  
which in-  
forms him  
that the  
new born  
infant is a  
daughter.

Amurath  
has the firſt  
meſſenger,  
who had  
led him in-  
to an error,  
ſtrangled.

They learned that ſome timarians, who had orders to join the army at Cogni, had reſuſed to comply, as a ſanton, who preached in the mountains of Natolia, forbade in the name of God, whoſe prophet he ſaid he was, to take up arms againſt the Perſians. This fanatic pretended to be the mehedî, or mediator prediſted in the Alcoran, who is to appear before the Antichriſt, to recall all mankind to the ſame belief, and to make them live in peace under one ſole prophet as under one ſole God. He would have the children of Ali ſpared, whom he undertook to reunite to the true Believers, by the gift of perſuaſion and miracles: and he called himſelf

the

A ſanton  
forms a  
ſect: what  
means are  
taken to  
deſtroy it.

J.C. 1638.  
 Heg. 1047,  
 & 1048.

the Angel of peace sent on earth, the image and instrument of the Almighty, who was come to teach mankind to be happy. As they gathered provisions from all quarters on the right and left of the army, the peasants, who were profelytes of the santon, stopped the convoys, refusing to nourish the murderers of their brethren. This enthusiasm became contagious; several of Amurath's soldiers quitted the army to join these neophytes. The emperor was sensible of the impropriety of contemning an enemy who was the more dangerous because he taught to bear persecutions and to bless sufferings, and that, under this imposing aspect, he wanted to divert his subjects from the obedience due to their sovereign. He sent four thousand men to pursue this enthusiast and his disciples, in holes of rocks, and in caverns, where they had retired. All disarmed and pacific as these new sectaries pretended to be, they defended courageously their lives. The four thousand men sent to reduce them, perished by piece-meal in the different posts which they attacked. Amurath, enraged at this resistance, sent troops more numerous and martial. The santon, reduced almost to the last extremity, reflected that all the blood which he spilt, turned against his principles, which tended to the abolition of all war. He fancied that if he went himself to Amurath, the prince would be touched with his submission, and perhaps too with the persuasion of his tongue. The false prophet

prophet really went to the feet of Amurath's throne, accompanied by several of his disciples. They all wore ropes round their necks, which announced that they placed their lives in the emperor's hands. Neither this tardy submission, nor the speeches of the santon, could disarm the angry monarch. After having heard, rather patiently, a long harangue, which tended to persuade him to disarm, and to make no more conquests but by the conviction which the Alcoran should have on every mind, as the santon said that his and all his disciples' lives were in the emperor's hands, and that they did not attempt to defend them, Amurath took advantage of this last declaration, and caused all the ropes which these wretches wore round their necks, to be drawn tight 'till they were dead.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1047,  
& 1048.

The Ottoman army continued its march. The emperor, on his arrival at Aleppo, was met by the bashaw of Grand Cairo with twenty-four thousand men, well armed and disciplined, who brought him a considerable tribute. The Diarbekar forces joined him likewise at this place. The sangiacs brought him timarians and troops at different places on the march, which they had themselves kept in pay. Thus, Amurath's army increased as he got further from Constantinople. The king of Persia had not been able to raise more than a hundred and twenty thousand men. He sent a reinforcement of thirty thousand to Bagdad, hoping that that place, so well fortified and

March of  
the army.

J.C. 1638. and defended, would be able to stand a siege.  
 Heg. 1047, & 1048. The sophi marched, with the rest of his troops,  
 against the great mogul, who had promised Amurath to make a powerful diversion. Thus, there was no battle this campaign, the sophi having forces in the towns only that he was anxious to preserve. Amurath passed the Euphrates, without meeting any resistance; he received on the other side of the river the homage of several Arabian, Georgian, and Mingrelian princes, who, as we have already observed, are tributaries to the Turks or Persians, according to circumstances, carrying their gold and their children slaves to whichever threatens them most; and alway ready to betray him that they serve, if fortune declare ever so little against him. Amurath took their tribute; but having but little dependence on the troops that they offered him, he would not mix such miscreants with soldiers in whom he could confide. And indeed military discipline had never been carried to a higher pitch. The smallest faults were so severely punished, that they became very rare. There was more order and safety in an enemy's country, and in the vicinity of a camp composed of more than three hundred thousand men, than had ever been seen in Constantinople in the midst of a profound peace. The extreme severity of Amurath, and the dread of punishment, were perhaps necessary to keep in order this heap of slaves from divers countries, accustomed to rapine. But the  
 executions

Great severity of Amurath.



executions related by the Turkish historians strike one with horror. For the smallest theft, even for having quitted the ranks, a soldier was flayed alive, and lived several days in the greatest agonies. Some were burnt with a slow fire, others empaled; so that the vitals not being touched, these wretches did not expire sometimes 'till the third day. The grand vizier, Bairaim, died of a dysentery at Mosul camp, the last rendezvous of the army. The aga of the janissaries, called Macmout, succeeded him in the seals and the command of the troops: this was the same person that the emperor had already substituted for the vizier Mehemet, and who commanded the troops that were left in Greece. Amurath, on the point of besieging such a place as Bagdad, thought he might put more confidence in an old experienced soldier, than in all the bashaws of the bench.

I.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1047,  
& 1048.

Bagdad, as we have already said, is a very strong town, built on the Tigris, about forty miles from the ancient Babylon, in a very fertile plain. It was then more considerable than at present, though this is still one of the principal factories of the Levant. The Turkish historians say, that when Amurath began the siege, there were eighty thousand men in the garrison; but it is likely that they count all that were in a situation to carry arms. Be that as it may, the new grand vizier, Macmout, advanced, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to invest Bagdad. As the march of the army had been long and fatiguing,

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

Siege of  
Bagdad.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

—            tiguig, it was not before the ninth of October that Macmout took possession of the narrow passes, and the emperor did not arrive 'till the fifth of the following month, with all his forces, in sight of the town. He began the siege by acts of religion, ordering public prayers, and making the sacrifice called *korban*, of two hundred sheep, which were distributed to the poorest of the army. The same day the emperor himself, dressed like a janissary, gave the example to the workmen to open the trenches; he set the match to the first cannon that was fired. The attack was made on three sides with equal spirit, the emperor and the grand vizier repairing to the places of greatest danger, and bringing back to the works or the attacks the troops repulsed. The grand vizier perished in one of these assaults.\* The Turks, more brave than industrious, attacked with more valour than good conduct; they employed the arms of the janissaries better than the art of the engineer. The besieged, who every instant saw their fortifications give way to a numerous artillery, defended themselves with every possible exertion. They had no hope of being succoured, as there was no Persian army in the province. Whilst they were very numerous, this

\* Prince Cantimir, and several others, relate that this minister died by the hand of Amurath, who thus punished him for his slowness; but this account, without probability, is contradicted by the Turkish writers, by the manuscripts of the time, and by sir Paul Ricaut, a faithful historian, who got his information on the spot in a time not very distant from that which we are speaking of.

this idea augmented their courage, and rendered them more formidable to the Turks; but when they had lost more than three parts of their garrison, by sallies, assaults, and all the bloody operations of a long siege, and the walls of Bagdad were laid open on all sides, the prospect of inevitable destruction constrained them to demand a capitulation.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

Amurath, who, during the whole siege, had shewn the valour of a soldier and the coolness of an experienced general, tarnished his glory by a horrid perfidy. He promised the remains of the garrison their lives, and the citizens their liberty and the preservation of their property; but when he was master of Bagdad by means of this capitulation, he pretended that, as he meant to return to Constantinople, he could not drag so many slaves after him, and that it would not be prudent to leave enemies, even disarmed, in a country that he had just conquered. He had all these prisoners slaughtered in the night. The carnage and excess were carried further than the emperor had ordered: debauchery and the allurements of pillage rendered the soldiers still more cruel than their master; and the day which succeeded this horrid night discovered in the streets nothing but dead bodies and streams of blood. The emperor having laid aside the dress of a janissary, which he had made a vow to wear during the whole siege, made a triumphal entry into Bagdad, with all the magnificence which the

Bagdad is  
taken.  
Perfidy of  
Amurath.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

circumstances would admit. The horses trod under their feet the limbs still palpitating of these unfortunate Persians, whom it would have been more honorable to have preserved to grace this triumph. The shouts of gladness, and the expressions of a barbarous joy, stifled the cries of what remained of women, children, and old men, in this deplorable town. After the siege of Bagdad, which was taken the 12th of December, the sultan reviewed his army, and found that near a third had perished, either by sickness, or the resistance of the Persians.

Amurath  
appoints a  
new grand  
vizier, and  
makes his  
favorite  
captain  
bashaw.

Amurath gave the charge of grand vizier to Mustapha the captain bashaw, whose valour and conduct had repaired the loss of the grand vizier Macmout. The dignity of captain bashaw was conferred on Gumir the Persian, the same who surrendered Revan. We have seen that this base action, a determined inclination for drunkenness, and a natural ascendancy over the emperor, had made this foreigner such a favorite, that Amurath could no longer make himself happy without him; but thus far, neither he, nor Becri, had been appointed to any place. All the Ottomans saw with chagrin a Persian, without any other merit than that of having plunged their master into the most shameful debauchery, honored with an employ that might be considered, with some reason, as the second in the empire; but the severity of the sultan had rendered him more absolute than any of his predecessors. The janissaries, who  
had

had so often demanded of the preceding emperors an account of their government, respected the caprices of Amurath. He left the army under the command of the new grand vizier, and, during the winter, visited several places in the Diarbekar.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

He leaves  
the army.

The affairs of Europe demanded likewise the emperor's attention. During the campaign of Bagdad a quarrel had arisen between the Porte and the republic of Venice. About the spring of the year 1638, several corsairs of Algiers, Tunis, and Biserta, had united themselves under the command of a famous Algerine pirate, called Picenin. Their design was to pillage the chapel of Our Lady at Loretto; but contrary winds having prevented them from penetrating so far into the gulf, they made several descents on the coast of Pouilla, ravaging all the country of Nicotera, and not re-embarking without being loaded with booty, dragging after them a number of slaves of both sexes, among whom were several nuns. The galleys of the Order of Malta and those of Tuscany were then cruising in the Archipelago. The galleys of Venice alone, to the number of eighteen, commanded by Martin Capello, pursued the corsairs, and arrived with them off Valona, a maritime place belonging to the Turks. Ali Picenin, who was not the strongest, thought to shelter himself in the port of Valona. The Venetians saluted the castle, and demanded that, conformably to treaty, the pirates, enemies of the republic,

Outrage  
committed  
by a Venetian  
fleet  
on an Ottoman  
port.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

republic, should be driven out of the port. The fangiac of Valona replied by firing a shot, which announced the protection that he meant to give the pirates; on which the Venetian admiral took his measures to block up the port and continued at anchor. A few days after, Ali Picenin attempted to escape by favor of his oars and a favorable wind before break of day; but the vigilant Venetians discovered his design, and fell furiously on the corsairs. The action lasted two hours, during which the Algerines were constantly seconded by the cannon of the port. Five Barbarian galleys being disabled, Ali Picenin re-entered the port of Valona with considerable loss. On the Venetian admiral's return to his station, he dispatched a shallop to inform the senate of what had passed. In their answer, after giving him the praise he merited, they forbade him to attempt any thing whilst the pirates should be in the port, for fear of infringing the treaties between the republic and the Ottoman empire; but they exhorted him to wait for the Algerines at sea in order to complete their destruction. For a whole month Capello continued at anchor, the Algerines always flattering themselves that a storm would force the Venetian fleet to seek a place of shelter. At length the admiral, impatient and determined not to lose his prey, entered the port when he was least expected, making a terrible fire on the galleys of the corsairs, which he found with less than a quarter of their crews of slaves on

on board. They were all towed out of the port and conducted to Corfu, without having made much resistance, and without the 'Turks' being able to give them any other assistance than firing some shot from the castle, which did but little mischief to the Venetian fleet. Amurath learned these news at Antioch, as he was marching towards Bagdad. In the first transport of his rage, he dispatched a messenger to order the caimacan of Constantinople to have the Venetian ambassador, and all the Venetian merchants that could be found, either at Galata, Pera, or Constantinople, without distinction of sex or age, thrown into the sea. Gumir and Becri had the courage and humanity to stop this order, persuaded that the prince, when the violence of his rage should be past, would be sorry that he had given it. Some days after, when they were at table with the sultan, they represented to him, that the conduct of the Venetian admiral, discountenanced by the republic, as the caimacan wrote him, ought not to draw this chastisement on countrymen who were not his accomplices; that it was necessary at least to be certain of the conduct which the senate of Venice would observe; and that it was but a bad way to obtain justice to rouse all Christendom, perhaps even all the Ottomans, by such a bloody and unmerited execution. Amurath heard his confidants with more attention than they expected; he learned without displeasure that the order which proscribed so many lives

was

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

was not feht. All his feverity was confined to commanding the caimacan to have the Venetian ambaffador arrested, and ftrictly guarded, 'till his mafters fhould have reftored every thing that they had taken from the Algerines, and made fatisfaction to the Porte for the infult it had received. The caimacan immediately executed this order with the utmoft rigour; for he imprifoned the fenator Contarini, the ambaffador from Venice, though that minifter was at that time afflicted with a moft excruciating fit of the gout. The fecond day after, all the minifters of Chriftendom, led on by the French ambaffador, went to the caimacan, and even to the valid fultaneffs. This princefs, notwithstanding the laws of the haram, fpoke fometimes to men on ftate affairs behind a veil. The ambaffadors complained loudly againft this cruel treatment, which ought to rouse all Europe. The Venetian ambaffador fcattered a good deal of money in feeret; for nothing is to be done at the Porte without that fuccour: he was conducted back to his palace under the guard of four chiaus, who answered for his perfon, and who neither quitted him day nor night.

The Venetian ambaffador is put in prifon; he gets out by the representations of the other Chriftian minifters.

The republic did not think they were fufficiently ftrong to go, to war with the Ottoman empire by themfelves; and but very feeble fuccours were to be expected from the reft of Chriftendom. In this extremity the fenate wrote Amurath the moft fubmiffive letters, protefting their fidelity in the execution



execution of the treaties, and stiling the Algerines, pirates, not included in the agreements between the Porte and the republic. The Turkish ministers persisted in demanding all the booty that was in the fleet; the slaves, both African and Christian, that had been recovered; and the galleys taken in the port of Valona. The two first seemed very hard, and the third was impossible, as the galleys had been sunk. At length this negotiation was prolonged 'till the return of Amurath from the siege of Bagdad. Then the Venetians, hearing that a peace was going to be concluded between the Porte and the Persian empire, and seeing likewise all the princes of Italy divided, thought it would be better to buy a necessary peace, than to expose their commerce to the chance of a war, ever disadvantageous to a commercial nation. The ambassador Contarini, though a captive, had the glory of concluding a treaty, in which the Turks agreed not to admit the corsairs of Algiers into their ports when they should have booty on board taken from the Venetians; and the grand seignior promised to forget the insult which his port of Valona had received, in consideration of three hundred thousand sequins, which the Venetians agreed to pay, in order to make amends for the galleys sunk. Thus this spark of war lay buried in ashes some time.

J.C. 1638.  
Heg. 1048.

He concludes a treaty with the Porte, which prevents a war.

The grand seignior, who liked to see all the considerable places in his empire, visited the towns of most importance in Diarbekar and Cara-

J.C. 1639.  
Heg. 1048,  
& 1049.

Amurath,  
on his re-  
turn from  
the war,  
examines  
the govern-  
ment of the  
provinces  
which he  
passes  
through.

He makes  
his tri-  
umphal en-  
try into  
Constanti-  
nople.

mania, and was particularly attentive to inflict punishments and bestow rewards. He confiscated the property of some prevaricating sangiacs, and gave away a great number of timars, which through the late losses were become vacant. This prince, though so cruel, had a just heart. He did two things during his reign without which the Ottoman empire, beaten for so long a time by so many storms, must have fallen. He kept the troops in subjection, and filled the public treasury, so much, that the defterdars and all the officers that remained at Constantinople saw, with the greatest astonishment, that the prince brought back from the Bagdad expedition double the sum that he had carried with him, and that all the officers and soldiers returned loaded with booty. The sultan, who had remained several weeks at Scutari in order to prepare his triumphal entry, crossed the straits with forty-six galleys ornamented with streamers and full of musical instruments which mixed their harmony with the noise of the artillery. The next day he purposed entering through the principal gate of Constantinople, accompanied by the choice of his troops. He mounted a superb horse, and was dressed with a leopard's skin fastened on his shoulder with a large clasp of diamonds. Twenty Persian lords, preserved from the carnage of Bagdad, marched on foot, loaded with silver chains, at the head of his highness's horse,

horse, whose martial and majestic air excited the acclamations of all the people.

J.C. 1639.  
Heg. 1048,  
& 1049.

However, this prince, who seemed to like military exercises, and who had been constantly successful at the head of the army, remained so well satisfied with the conquest of Bagdad, that he entertained no thought of penetrating further into Persia. The grand vizier, Mustapha, whom he had left at the head of the troops, continued there rather to negotiate than to make war. His endeavours were not without success. The emperor had not been returned to Constantinople above six weeks, before an ambassador arrived there from the sophi. This minister was received, less like the ambassador of a king, come to negotiate a treaty, than the deputy of a conquered people who solicit favor. After having waited a very long time for an audience even of the caimacan, they signified to him the great honor which the emperor deigned to do him in permitting him to kiss the foot of his throne. Amurath pierced with an arrow a buckler made of the ear of an elephant which was one of the presents brought by the ambassador, and which the latter had told him was impenetrable. "The Persians," said the prince, "should know, that nothing is impenetrable to Amurath." He heard, with an affected indifference, the harangue of this minister, and replied to it in a few words with a good deal of haughtiness. The caimacan was ordered to receive the propositions of peace

J.C. 1639.  
 Heg. 1048,  
 & 1049.  
 Peace with  
 Persia.

and to treat with the Persians. Notwithstanding the Ottoman haughtiness and all the advantages which Amurath had caused to be founded so high, the town of Revan, conquered by the Turks, and since retaken by the Persians, was confirmed to the latter by the treaty, as that of Bagdad was to the former. The Turks saw, with the greatest joy, an end to a war, which exposed them to a climate that always proved fatal to them.

In consequence of Amurath's great attention, the Turkish empire was become more flourishing than it had been under the preceding reigns. This inflexible prince had found means to purge his dominions of those secret enemies that were always waiting for some foreign war to raise the standard of rebellion; who, no sooner taken from the slavery of the seraglio, to be raised to the dignities of sangiacs, bashaws, or seraskiers, than they attempted to make themselves sovereigns of the provinces intrusted to them; who took advantage of the liberty which all the governors have of raising troops in their name and in as large a number as they may think necessary, to turn against their master both the arms of his subjects and the imposts; the assessment, the raising, and sometimes the use of which, were intrusted to them.

Under shelter of this internal peace, Amurath had restored plenteousness both on the coasts and in the inland territories. Asia began

to furnish Europe with provisions in exchange for foreign merchandises, with which its ports were filled; and those that administered justice, become equitable and severe after the example of a master who knew so well how to punish, restored fair dealing in the commerce, order in the towns, safety in the public roads, and every where abundance and population. If we reflect that all these benefits were due to the most debauched, perhaps the most cruel of men, we shall be astonished without doubt, at human nature's being susceptible of so many contrarieties.

One of the last actions of Amurath's life was to have the caimacan put to death, who had advised him to depose the waywodes of Transylvania and Walachia. That of Moldavia had prevailed on the caimacan to get his son appointed waywode of Walachia, though Matthew, the reigning prince, was young and in good health, and had not been guilty of any crime against the Porte. Two hundred purses with which Lupolo (that was the name of the waywode of Moldavia) had presented the caimacan, injured the waywode of Walachia in the opinion of the minister. The latter persuaded his master that this waywode was secretly conspiring with the Transylvanians to cause a revolution and fall on European Turkey when it should be least thought of. He represented the deposition of this tributary prince as both exceedingly just and easy, assuring Amurath that the junction of some neighbouring garrisons

and

J.C. 1639.  
Heg. 1048,  
& 1049.

The caimacan raises up a war against the waywode of Walachia, and tries to have him deposed. This attempt does not succeed, and the Turkish minister is put to death.

J.C. 1639.  
Heg. 1048,  
& 1049.

and the Moldavian forces would be sufficient to put Matthew to flight, and soon place the son of Lupolo on the throne of his enemy. The waywode of Walachia found means to defend himself against this unjust enterprise, first with victorious arms, and afterward with substantial reasons. A messenger, who brought to Constantinople the news of Lupolo's defeat, as well as that of the Turkish troops which had been sent him, brought likewise letters from Matthew addressed to the emperor, full of protestations of fidelity, and such particulars as convinced Amurath that the caimacan had imposed on him. He instantly ordered the minister to be conducted to the Seven Towers. For some days it was thought that he would escape with this chastisement and the loss of his place; but the defterdar, having received orders to take an inventory of his property, reported to the emperor that it amounted to three million pieces of money, without counting the furniture and diamonds which were very valuable and in great quantity. Amurath, who remembered that this officer was not rich before the Persian war, thought that such a rapid and considerable fortune could not be lawfully acquired. After a week's imprisonment, the caimacan was condemned to death, which he suffered with resignation, as almost all the Turks do, blessing the hour which the sultan orders for their execution, persuaded that this obedience will be of the greatest service to them in the world to come.

Whilst

Whilst the affairs of the empire became more and more flourishing, the emperor's health was sensibly impaired. He had made such an ill use of wine, that this liquor was become insipid to him. Spirituous liquors could alone gratify his stomach, and every day he drank more. This had brought on him the gout, which he several times experienced so severely, that he was on the point of determining to leave off strong liquors entirely. Amurath really found himself relieved for several months. Becri and Gumir, who saw their favor diminish since they were no longer companions of their master's debauchery, left no mean unattempted to persuade Amurath that, since his pains were removed, it was useless to keep to a tiresome regimen; they prevailed on the prince to celebrate the bairam, a sort of festival among the Mussulmen, which terminates their ramazan or lent, during which they make great rejoicings and feasts. Instead of sherbets, sugar-waters, and the other mixtures which the Mussulmen make use of in their repasts to correct the crudity of the water and supply, as much as they possibly can, the place of fermented liquors, they plied the emperor in the bairam repast with the most exquisite and heady wines, of which he had almost forgotten the taste. This excessive debauchery brought on a dropsy, which had threatened the sultan for a long time; it made rapid progress, as Amurath yielded continually to the thirst which tormented him. In less than a month the physicians

J.C. 1639.  
Hrg. 1048,  
& 1049.

Malady of  
Amurath.  
They re-  
fuse him  
the sight of  
his succes-  
sor. He  
bemoans be-  
fore his  
death the  
demise of  
Becri.

J.C. 1639,  
Heg. 1048,  
& 1049.

ficians despaired of his life. It was remarked that the latter durst not make use of the remedies with which their art furnished them, for fear that if Amurath, who became more and more furious, should suffer great torments, he would have them put to death; that, on the contrary, the officers that surrounded the prince, and who knew that frequent drinking would inevitably shorten his days, durst not refuse it him; thus the terror which Amurath continually spread around him, did not a little contribute to hasten his death. It kept likewise his successor from his presence. Amurath demanded several times to see his brother Ibrahim, in order to give him, as he said, some advice about governing; but the valid sultaneß, the mother of the two princes, constantly kept Ibrahim from the apartment of his dying brother. She remembered that sultan Amurath, in the height of his grief at the death of a son who had lived but a few months, had exclaimed that he would have the whole Ottoman race perish with him, since he could not perpetuate it. The valid sultaneß, who knew the sanguinary disposition of Amurath, thought of nothing but how to prevent a calamity that would have realised the pretensions of the khan of the Crimean Tartars to the throne of Constantinople, or which would have exposed perhaps this vast empire to a shock capable of shaking it to its foundation. The emperor could never prevail to have his brother brought to him, in spite of the reiterated



iterated orders that he gave for it. Amurath, J.C. 1639.  
Heg. 1048,  
& 1049. seeing himself no longer obeyed, was convinced that he was near his end. The last mortification that he experienced was the loss of his dear Becri, who died of the same excess as his master some days before him. The emperor ordered a superb funeral for his companion in debauchery. He purposed having a magnificent column built on Becri's tomb, an honor paid to the most celebrated men only. But the Turks but little respect the commands of their emperors after they are dead, though they would have executed them with terror during their life.

Amurath died the first of March 1640, aged thirty-one, after a reign of seventeen years, more glorious than could have been expected. Fine talents were perceivable amidst all his vices. Nature had endowed him with an active mind and a nicety of discernment. Amurath knew how to reward and punish: he was persuaded of the necessity of governing by himself and of seeing every thing with his own eyes, notwithstanding the prejudice of the Turks, who fancy their emperor formidable in proportion as he is invisible. Amurath, convinced that to govern men it was necessary to know them, mixed with the people; he permitted free access to his throne to all that had any just reasons to conduct them thither. He gave his soldiers himself the example of military fatigues, and his ministers that of an assiduous application. Whenever he went out of the se-

J.C. 1640.  
Heg. 1049.  
Death of  
Amurath.

J.C. 1640.  
Heg. 1049.

He carefully examined if there were any fires over the heads of those that surrounded him; it has been already observed, that those, who have no access to the seraglio, take this method of letting the emperor know that they have some favor to ask or some complaint to make. When Amurath perceived any one make this sign, he would order him to come near. He never permitted any minister to receive his petition, as had been the practice of his predecessors, lest the complaint made should directly regard the man whom he should have intrusted to receive it, or some one of his friends. In fine, Amurath is counted in the number of the best emperors that have possessed the throne of Constantinople. He would have merited the title of a great man, if nature or his education could have taught him that his subjects were human beings like himself; but he never considered them otherwise than as portions of his domain which it was necessary to manage with œconomy in order to augment his riches or his glory. His sanguinary humour made him at times both unjust and cruel. His love of wine was likewise another blemish in his character, more particularly as it shortened his days.

J.C. 1640.  
Heg. 1049,  
& 1050.

## I B R A H I M I.

## EIGHTEENTH REIGN.

AS soon as Amurath IV. was dead, the grand vizier, Mustapha, lately returned from Asia, the musti, the two cadileskers, the reis effendi, the bashaws of the bench, the aga of the janissaries, the spahi agasi, and all that had a right to enter the divan, repaired thither in great number. Some officers of the janissaries had murmured at the preferment of Ibrahim the only remaining prince of the Ottoman race, but who was said to be quite incapable of reigning. The khan of the Tartars, whom this choice could alone regard, and who was ignorant of the weakness of Ibrahim, had not made any motion; and Kiossem, the valid sultaneß, mother of Ibrahim as of Amurath IV., had so prepared the minds of the people during the last days of the emperor, that as soon as he was dead, the great officers unanimously agreed that the only remaining prince of the house which had reigned more than three centuries, had alone a right to the throne. They went together to the prison of Ibrahim to inform him that he was emperor. This prince, of a weak constitution and timid character, was become much more so since Amurath had put to death Bajazet their brother, and shut up him in a small,

Ibrahim is taken from his prison, and ascends the throne.

J.C. 1640.  
Heg. 1049,  
& 1050.

dark place, where he seemed to have nothing more to expect than death. When he saw all the great officers of the empire surround his prison, he did not doubt that his last hour was arrived, taking for a snare the acclamations which he heard from those that called him their emperor. This prince protested a long time that there ought to be no other emperor than Amurath, and that they could not, without a crime, acknowledge another. He feigned not to understand those that told him that Amurath was dead. The valid sultaneſs came and certified to him what he reſuſed to believe; but even ſhe could not obtain his confidence 'till ſhe had ſhewn him the corpeſe of Amurath IV. Then Ibrahim, diſſembling his joy, prepared to render ſome honors to the dead body of his predeceſſor. With the aſſiſtance of the muſti and the two cadileſkers, he carried this corpeſe out of the ſeraglio, where the janiffaries received it in order to depoſit it in Achmet's tomb. Ibrahim went and ſat himſelf on the throne of his anceſtors, from whence he was conducted to Jub moſque, where he had the ſword of Othman girded on him with the uſual ceremonies. After the preſent made the troops, he re-entered Conſtantinople in cavalcade, according to cuſtom, ſurrounded by the great officers, and the choice of the boſtangis, ſpahis, and janiffaries. The veſt and turban of the new emperor were ſtudded over with a great number of diamonds. He rode a ſuperb horſe. Amidſt this pomp, Ibrahim ſhewed

shewed so little grace and address; his countenance, on which nothing was perceivable but astonishment or terror, his height, his attitudes, in short his whole outward appearance, were so different from that of the lofty Amurath, that the people conceived an unfavorable opinion of him at first sight. Even bursts of laughter and hooting were heard, instead of those acclamations which usually fill the air on similar occasions.

J.C. 1640.  
Heg. 1049,  
& 1050.

The valid sultaneſs and the grand vizier Muſtapha lived at firſt in an union become neceſſary for the good of the ſtate, and eſpecially for their perſonal intereſt. And indeed, under ſuch an emperor, their authority could not but be, abſolute, provided they could agree. All the officers appointed by Amurath IV. and who had acknowledged his brother for their maſter, were continued in their places: thus, in the beginning, Amurath's ſhade ſtill governed. They learned that the baſhaw of Rhodes had had the ſon of the khan of the Crimean Tartars, who was kept as a hoſtage in that iſland, put to death, only becauſe he had ſaid, that if the new emperor Ibrahim ſhould die without children, as there was reaſon to expect, the Ottoman ſceptre would belong to his family. This cruelty cauſed no diſturbance: the khan of the Tartars without doubt did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to undertake to revenge his ſon. The grand vizier was then making great preparations. The neighbouring princes endeavoured to diſcover which way the prime miniſter

Good understanding between the valid ſultaneſs & the grand vizier Muſtapha in the government of the empire.

J.C. 1640.  
Heg. 1049,  
& 1050.

Ibrahim  
lives in ef-  
feminacy.

minister meant to direct the forces of the empire. As to Ibrahim, he seemed to be mounted on the throne, only to sleep there. More debauched than his brother, but destitute of the talents which had been so much admired in that prince, the new emperor abandoned the reins of government to his grand vizier and the valid sultaneſs. Kioſem went to the divan, or rather ſhe heard what paſſed in that aſſembly, from the window called *dangerous*, on account of its looking into the divan chamber from a gallery in the ſeraglio, which being covered with a thin gauze, the ſultans can hear every thing that paſſes between their miniſters, and have been ſometimes known to open this window to give rigorous orders, in conſequence of what they had juſt heard. An ambaffador from Perſia came to compliment the new monarch, to bring him rich preſents, and the ratification of the laſt treaty. The envoy of the emperor of the Weſt, who, towards the end of the preceding reign, had in vain ſolicited the precedency over the French ambaffador, received his audience after that of Perſia. The emperor of the Weſt reſolved for the future to give the miniſter that he kept at Conſtantinople the title of reſident only, in order not to give up, even at the Porte, the pre-eminence which he obtains without difficulty in all other courts.

Though the grand vizier, Muſtapha, longed to ſignalize his miniſtry by conqueſts, he was conſtrained by unforeſeen accidents to put off his projects

projects of war to the following year. A fire consumed, in less than two days, two considerable quarters of Constantinople. The vizier's attention preserved most of the stone edifices; but houses constructed of painted wood, which are very numerous at Constantinople, could not resist the violence of the fire, increased by a high wind. This accident too common, notwithstanding the precautions taken against it, is one of the greatest obstacles to the riches and population of this capital. Moreover, the new emperor, who had passed so suddenly from the hardest captivity to the midst of pleasures, had made such an ill use of them, that in a few months this enervated prince fell into a debility which threatened to degenerate into a palsy. As it was feared that he might die without children, the grand vizier would not leave Constantinople, nor send away the vessels which he had just armed. But when the emperor's health was repaired, Mustapha, who was unwilling that all this preparation should be made for nothing, resolved to send the new captain bashaw Ali (for they had deposed Gumir) with the fleet to besiege Asoph. As to himself, he remained at Constantinople.

J.C. 1641.  
Heg. 1050,  
& 1051.

Great fire  
at Constantinople.

Indisposition  
of the  
emperor.

Siege of  
Asoph.

One of the first acts of rigour which the vizier made use of, was against Gumir the Persian, who had been such a favorite with the last emperor. It was with pleasure people saw this man called to an account for the immense sums that he had heaped up under the last reign, and which they

Execution  
of Gumir.

J.C. 1641.  
Heg. 1050,  
& 1051.

they suspected he had an intention to convey to Persia, in order to their being secure from the country whence he had drawn them. As soon as Mustapha was certain of the whole, he had Gumir strangled, without reproaching him with any other crime than his debaucheries with Amurath; and had his corpse exposed to the eyes of the populace, as if he would punish more rigorously than any other criminal, the man whom he considered as the real murderer of his master.

The grand  
seignior  
wants to  
have one of  
his prede-  
cessor's  
sultaneſſes.

Whilst the grand vizier was avenging the death of the last emperor, Ibrahim, re-established in health, debased himself in the face of the whole empire. Though he was surrounded by a crowd of beauties brought at a great expence from all the corners of Asia, the depravity of his inclination made him desire what was not in his power. Having heard the greatest encomiums passed on the charms of one of the assakys of Amurath IV. who had retired to the old seraglio, like all the sultaneſſes of the deceased emperors, the voluptuous Ibrahim was inflamed by the obstacles; and, notwithstanding the law, which expressly forbids the knowing of a brother's wife, he would have Fatma (that was her name) conducted to the apartment which she had occupied in the haram in the reign of Amurath. The emperor's desires increased at sight of the fair sultaneſſes; but he could never prevail on her. The widow of Amurath IV. disdainfully resisted  
all



all his attempts; and when Ibrahim, renouncing his endeavours to please, wanted to make use of the absolute power which he ought to have in the haram more than any where else, it was with equally as little success; for the haughty Fatma drew the poniard which her dignity of sultaneſs authorised her to wear at her girdle, to defend herself against the emperor. The latter, but little formed for such a reception, discovered as much fright amidst his women and eunuchs, as he could have shewn in the defeat of an army. On his receiving a very severe reprimand from the valid sultaneſs, he was so transported with shame and rage, that he threatened his mother, who had 'till then had so much influence over him, to have her shut up in the old seraglio. From that time the contempt that the valid sultaneſs had for her son was accompanied by a secret hatred, which was one of the causes of his fall.

Meanwhile a numerous and brilliant army was consumed at the siege of Afoph without any success. Though an envoy was come from Muscovy to assure the emperor, from the great duke, that that prince would give no succours either directly or indirectly to the Cossacks, these soldiers had found great resources in their valour. The Ottoman army, reduced to one-third in less than six months, had no longer either provisions or vessels. The captain bashaw raised the siege. As Mustapha thought this general ought to be made responsible for all these disasters, the cap-

The captain bashaw is obliged to raise the siege of Afoph, and is deposed.

J.C. 1642. tain bashaw lost at the same time his dignity and  
 Heg. 1052. the command of the army.

The grand vizier unites to his place that of captain bashaw.

The grand vizier Mustapha, more powerful than any of his predecessors, joined the place of captain bashaw, 'till then the second in the empire, to that of grand vizier. He met with no obstacles, either from the emperor, to whom every thing appeared indifferent, or the valid sultaneſs, who had not yet taken umbrage at his too great authority. The government of Silistria and the command of another expedition against Asoph were given to the bashaw of Grand Cairo. The grand vizier wished to put a speedy termination to some disputes that had arisen with the Germans on the frontiers of Hungary about limits. Baron Guſtemberg, who commanded there for the Germans, had some conferences with the neighbouring bashaws and ſangiacs. These last, agreeably to the orders which they had received from the Porte, granted the German general nearly every thing he would have. The treaty was not difficult to conclude ; a truce was agreed on for twenty years, which the grand ſeignior ratified without examining the clauses.

Treaty renewed with the emperor of the West.

The very day of this ratification, one of the odaliſks preſented the ſultan with a prince, which gave univerſal joy throughout the empire. Ibrahim's infirmities had juſtly given reaſon to fear that the Ottoman race would become extinct with him. This new prop of the throne, who was called Mahomet after the prophet, diſperſed the fears

Birth of a prince called Mahomet.

fears of those who presaged a number of troubles and much blood spilt, if it had been necessary to establish a new family on the throne of Constantinople. The khan of the Tartars was perhaps the only person that did not participate in the public joy; it was presently increased by the news of the taking of Asoph, though the circumstances diminished considerably the glory and advantage of that conquest. The Cossacks, who had learned that a more considerable army than the first was about to begin its march, and that they should be again attacked by land and sea, were conscious they should not be always able to withstand forces so superior to theirs. Having solicited the assistance of the czar, that prince replied, that he had just concluded a treaty with the Turks, and that he would not be the first to infringe it. On this, the Cossacks resolved to abandon Asoph. They carried away every thing they could from this town which a good port had enriched; they destroyed the ramparts; they attempted to render the entrance inaccessible by sea; in short, they did all the mischief that the time would permit them to commit in a place which they did not think themselves able to preserve; and, having departed before they perceived the Ottoman fleet, the Turks found on their arrival, instead of a formidable place well defended, the smoking ruins of an abandoned town. The bashaw of Silistria, who had expected to destroy this place, employed all the men that

J.C. 1642.  
Heg. 1052.

Taking of  
Asoph.

J.C. 1642. he had brought from Constantinople, to repair it.  
Heg. 1052.

The ammunition on board the fleet was carried to magazines. All the soldiers turned masons. The general had the ramparts rebuilt by those that he had brought to beat them down; and when he had once more raised this ruined town, he recalled all the citizens, promising them privileges and the protection of the grand seignior. As there had not been sufficient time to fill up the harbour, and the town being very advantageously situated for commerce, the inhabitants returned in crowds. The bashaw of Silistria added some new fortifications, in order to defend it against the Cossacks. This town is become in a few years one of the best ports of the Pont Euxine.

J.C. 1643. The empire seemed to flourish. The treaties,  
Heg. 1053. as we have seen, had been renewed with all the neighbouring states; but the head of this great body was not sufficiently sound, to enjoy a very perfect health. Notwithstanding the activity and talents of Mustapha, the name of the grand vizier could not be so respected as that of Amurath IV. had been. Every one knew that the power of the grand vizier was counterbalanced by that of the valid sultans. Those, that wanted to raise difficulties or make illicit profits, depended on Kiosem. Kerar bashaw, who commanded in the isle of Cyprus, one of the richest possessions in the empire, grew tired of faithfully sending every year the immense product of that island to Constantinople,

Constantinople, and of giving the troops that guarded it under his command a considerable pay which he would rather have appropriated to himself. J.C. 1643.  
Heg. 1053.

He did not doubt but Kiossem would listen to the women and eunuchs that surrounded her, and that these sorts of minions would prefer their own particular advantage to that of the empire. With this hope he sent considerable presents to the principal servants of the valid sultanness, and, in a little time, neglected, under false pretences; to send the defterdar the money which he received for the sultan. He replied to the repeated orders of the grand vizier, that he had accounted with the defterdar of sultanness Kiossem for the product of his government. His unbounded avarice made him disband two thirds of the troops employed to guard the island, in order to appropriate their pay to himself. Mustapha, astonished at this audacity, was still more so when he learned that the valid sultanness countenanced it, and when, on the repeated complaints that he made to her against the bashaw of Cyprus, Kiossem answered with authority that she knew what was done with the money, and that she would not have Kerar, the bashaw of that province, called to an account. In vain did the grand vizier attempt to demonstrate to the sultanness that this rich portion of the revenues of the empire was entirely kept back: Kiossem, who would be obeyed, and who without doubt shared in this depredation, imposed silence on the vizier; but she was unable to tie his hands.

Mustapha

J.C. 1643.  
Reg. 1053.

Mustapha had ten sail fitted out, which were to cruise in the Mediterranean, collect the imposts of the isles of the Archipelago, and carry merchandise to these different countries. The vizier ordered the commander of this squadron to pass off the isle of Cyprus, and to take charge of some commissions from the valid sultans. When the ten vessels approached the island, the bashaw, who sent to discover what they were, demanded by what order they presumed to enter his government. The commander of the fleet replied, that he had no intention to land at Cyprus, but that he had dispatches from the valid sultans for the bashaw of that island; that it was necessary for him to see him; that if the bashaw would but come on board only to pass a few hours, he would receive letters and hear some particulars which he would not be sorry to know. Kerar bashaw, who had but very few troops, learned with great pleasure that he had nothing to fear from this fleet. Impatient to read the letters of his powerful protectress, and being unwilling to let these vessels which had frightened him come nearer, he hastened to get into a shallop and go on board. He was received in the fleet as the favorite of her who governed the empire; but, during the repast which was given him in the admiral galley, they found means to remove most of his attendants. Whilst he was reading the sultans's letters, the fatal bowstring was put round his neck, and he was strangled without having the leisure to prepare himself

himself for death. Immediately the ten galleys entered the port. The vice-captain had the bashaw's head placed by the side of his flag: This fight having spread terror, the admiral landed and shewed the order sealed with the seals of the empire which appointed him governor, in the room of the criminal that had recently suffered so just a punishment. The land forces being debarked, eight of the galleys were sent back to Constantinople, carrying the confiscated property of Kerar bashaw, and his head, which the grand vizier had the temerity to send to the criminal's protectress. The sultanness Kiossem received this insult amidst the rejoicings which were making at Constantinople on account of the birth of two princes, who were brought forth nearly at the same time by two different odalisks. The satisfaction which she felt at seeing the Ottoman house strengthened, was insufficient to appease her resentment at the grand vizier's behaviour. Being thoroughly resolved on revenge, she thought only how to get Mustapha out of favor with her son, without the minister's being able to perceive it. Calumnies were not spared: the odalisks joined in the plot: in short, every thing, except truth, was made use of to persuade Ibrahim, that the best minister he could have, was the enemy of his state and of his person. Ibrahim abandoned his grand vizier to the resentment of his mother, without Mustapha's important services exciting in his master the least desire of examining

J.C. 1643.  
Heg. 1053.

Birth of  
two prin-  
ces.

J.C. 1643.  
Heg. 1053.

Death of  
the grand  
vizier.

amining his conduct. But the vindictive Kiossem perceived the danger of publicly putting to death a grand vizier beloved by the troops and people: she inticed him into the inner part of the seraglio, where he was surpris'd and strangled as the bashaw of Cyprus had been. It was given out that he died of an apoplexy. The seals were given to one Mehemet, bashaw of Damascus, from whom Kiossem hoped for more complaisance; and the place of captain, bashaw, which was no more to be united to that of grand vizier; was conferred on the felictar aga, called Jousef.\* Mustapha was greatly regretted by the people and soldiers: it was not known, 'till a long time after, how he met his end; but this outrage of the valid sultaness's did not go unpunished.

J.C. 1644.  
Heg. 1054.

Adven-  
tures of the  
eunuch's  
son, since  
known by  
the name  
of father  
Ottoman.

Under such a reign as Ibrahim's the most trifling causes were capable of producing the greatest events, and the intrigues of the seraglio influenced the government of the whole empire. A kishar aga was of much greater importance than a general of the army: the famous war of Candia was likewise occasioned by the kishar aga, which is one of the most memorable events in the Turkish history. This officer, who, as all the world knows, is the chief black eunuch, and keeper of the grand seignior's women, by a barbarous luxury had likewise women at his disposal, who were kept in a quarter separated from the haram. The kishar aga purchased one that proved

\* The felictar aga is the grand seignior's sword-bearer.



proved with child; and who, a few months after her entering the haram, brought forth a son. J.C. 1644.  
Heg. 1054.  
 The mother and child were extremely beautiful. This slave, on her recovery from child-bed, was chosen to nurse the little prince Mahomet. Ibrahim attached himself greatly to the wife and son of the eunuch. It was thus they were stiled in the haram. This nurse and the child she had brought forth were admitted to the most intimate familiarity with the emperor, so much so, that the favorite sultaneß soon grew jealous of it. This sultaneß had not the credit to remove from the seraglio the objects which displeased her; for, as we have before said, two other odalisks had each brought forth a prince a short time after her. It was thought the eunuch's wife would soon become a sultaneß likewise; but an event, worthy of this court, caused her to be banished from the seraglio, as likewise her son. One day, as Ibrahim, walking in his gardens, was lavishing on this child caresses which the favorite sultaneß pretended were due to her son only, the latter expressed her displeasure at it to the emperor with so much severity, that Ibrahim, irritated, snatched the little prince Mahomet from his mother's arms, and threw him into a basin, where he would have been drowned, if he had not been quickly assisted. The child was not saved from this danger before he had swallowed a great deal of water, and received such a wound in his head, that it was a long time doubtful if he would get

I.C. 1644.  
Heg. 1054.

over it, and of which he retained the mark all his life. The valid sultaneſs exclaimed loudly againſt the conduct and proceedings of her ſon. She talked to him ſo gravely on the injury which he was on the point of doing the empire, by depriving it of the preſumptive heir to the throne, that the weak monarch conſented to remove thoſe for ever from the court who had occaſioned theſe diſturbances. The kiſlar aga deſired permiſſion to make the pilgrimage of Mecca with his pretended family. He ſhipped on board the fleet which had brought the impoſts from Alexandria, his riches which were immense, to which he added the gifts of the favorite ſultaneſs who ſaw them ſet out with ſo much pleaſure, and conſiderable preſents from the ſultan, who had great difficulty to ſeparate from the child and mother. This voyage was made with ſo much pomp, that the people did not doubt that this was a ſultaneſs, and a ſon of the emperor's whom they were ſending to Mecca. The preſence of the kiſlar aga rendered this report more probable. The eunuch was taken, by thoſe that ſaw ſo much property and ſo many ſlaves put on board, for the ſteward and governor of this precious child, of whom he could not be the father. The Alexandrian fleet was compoſed of one large galleon, two veſſels leſs conſiderable, and ſeven ſaicks. The ſultaneſſes, anxious to ſend off thoſe that gave them umbrage, obliged theſe veſſels to put to ſea, though the wind was unfavorable.

avorable. After beating about a long time, a tempest constrained them to take shelter in the port of Rhodes. The news of such a rich embarkation having soon reached Malta, seven galleys well equipped and manned sailed to wait for the Alexandrian fleet in a latitude that it could not avoid. The knights attacked the Turks, who defended themselves a long time; even the eunuch shewed a courage that could not have been expected either from his state, or education, or the effeminacy in which he had lived. He died sword in hand, as did most of his followers. The boarding was so bloody, that the knights of Malta, who were conquerors, lost twelve of their companions and more than three hundred soldiers. The battle being over, the knights went and cast anchor at Calismena, a port on the south side of the island of Candia, where they refitted and provided themselves with some ammunition, which they were in want of for the safety of their return. From thence they triumphantly entered the port of Malta, persuaded that they had gotten a son of the emperor of the East. Without doubt the slave his mother contributed to credit this report. The knights published throughout Europe this important capture. They paid this child the honors which they thought due to the son of a sovereign; but time having discovered the truth, this supposed prince left Malta, where no care was taken about guarding him, and after having passed in misery through

J.C. 1644.  
Heg. 1054.

J.C. 1644.  
Heg. 1054.

The Turks  
meditate to  
revenge  
themselves  
of the  
Order of  
Malta.

several countries, at length turned monk at Rome under the name of father Ottoman.

The rage of Ibrahim at the news of this loss might well give reason to think that the Maltese had taken his son. He vowed the destruction of this nest of pirates (it was thus he termed the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem). The grand vizier bitterly reproached the Venetian ambassador with his republic's having harboured in the isle of Candia those who had just plundered the grand seignior's fleet and were dragging his subjects into slavery. The noble Soranzo, who then represented the republic at Constantinople, replied, that the port of Calismena was not defended by any castle, or even fortification: that it was impossible to hinder any vessel, friend or enemy, armed or unarmed, from entering it; that the salt water was as free there as the air; that in short the Venetians could not be accused of having committed any hostility, in leaving open a port which had never been shut since they were masters of the isle of Candia. The vizier seemed to be satisfied with this reply: it was for a long time thought that the fleet sitting out at the Porte menaced the rock of Malta. Nothing was talked of at Constantinople but exterminating every inhabitant of that island, and to throw all the buildings and heaps of earth into the sea that might have been raised there to vanquish nature. The grand master and the council of the Order did not doubt that it was intended to make them

them pay dearly for the booty that they had gained, and the glory which they arrogated to themselves of having taken a prince of the Ottoman race. All the knights were summoned, and all the ports of the isles of Malta and Gozzi were put in a good state of defence with every expedition. J.C. 1644-  
Heg. 1054.

Meanwhile, the viziers and all the members of the divan reminded the sultan of what had passed in the two sieges of Malta. They observed to him, that when the Turks could flatter themselves with being more fortunate than they were then, the conquest of Malta, at best both excessively toilsome and bloody, would produce them the possession of an arid rock only, where the knights could maintain a few thousand men, only by the aid of the possessions which they had throughout Europe; that when Malta should be taken, the Order of St. John could not be considered as destroyed; that this hydra had as many heads as there were provinces in the catholic countries; and that the Order, after having lost the fertile isle of Rhodes, had sprung up again, if not more rich, at least more formidable to the Mussulmen; that it would be more prudent in the offended to turn all the force of their vengeance against enemies less martial and who had more to lose; that, since the Venetians were accomplices in the outrage committed on the Ottoman empire, it would be right to take the isle of Candia, which would furnish

J.C. 1644. furnish considerable indemnities for the loss they  
 Heg. 1054. had to complain of.

They re-  
 solve after-  
 ward to at-  
 tack the  
 isle of  
 Candia.

Ibrahim listened to these reasons. The expedition against Candia was resolved on; but every thing was kept a profound secret in the divan: it was the more easy to be concealed, because the preparations threatened the isle of Malta. In vain did the Venetians instruct their ambassador to penetrate the real designs of the Porte: the Italian was deluded; the feigned caresses of the Turks, and the assurance which they gave him that they were going to attack the rock of Malta, lulled his vigilance and disconcerted all his plots. Notwithstanding the security of the ambassador, the Venetians prepared to receive the enemy; they assembled their fleet, and collected ammunition and provisions, in order to defend the possessions of the republic, or send succours to their allies.

J.C. 1645.  
 Heg. 1055.  
 First cam-  
 paign in  
 Candia.

At length, in the spring of the year 1645, the Ottoman fleet was in a situation to weigh anchor. It was composed of eighty-two galleys, twenty high built vessels, and three hundred saicks, carrying seven thousand janissaries, fourteen thousand timarians, fifty thousand spahis, topggis, and levantis, and three thousand pioneers. Notwithstanding the indolence of Ibrahim, which rendered him so indifferent with respect to the government of his empire, he had greatly interested himself in this armament, and saw the departure of the fleet himself from a chiosk placed

placed at the end of the seraglio. The captain <sup>J.C. 1645-  
Heg. 1055.</sup> bashaw, Jousef, commanded the fleet; Musa bashaw, one of the viziers of the bench, had the command of the troops; and the kulkiec udasi, or lieutenant-general of the janissaries, was to act as adjutant-general to the army under the two bashaws. The grand seignior gave his orders to the two commanders in presence of all the fleet; they were sealed up, and not to be opened but in a council of war, after having passed the Dardanelles. The Venetian ambassador had seen the captain bashaw the evening before his departure, and had been received by him with an apparent familiarity. The minister thought himself very certain that the Turks did not menace any of the dominions of his republic. The port of Scio had been ordered for the rendezvous of these vessels. As they were stretching towards Napoli di Romania, a tempest obliged them to separate; most of the saicks were driven towards the isles of Mycone and Tina. The latter belongs to the Venetians. The vessels were received there as friends; and the Turks were provided with fresh water and all the provisions that were to be gotten in the island. The fleet being soon put in order again, appeared off Cerigo, another island belonging to the Venetians. One galleon and one brigantine entered the port. The brigantine carried the proveditor letters from the grand vizier, who demanded the customary annual present of coffee and sugar. When the  
Turks

J.C. 1645.  
Heg. 1055.

Turks received this present, they assured the captain of the vessel of the good intentions and affection of the grand seignior. They made use of this artifice because they had learned from constant experience that they are never so strong by sea as the Christians; and that their fleets, though numerous and well provided, are often beaten by vessels better built and managed with greater skill. As they had menaced the Order of Malta, the knights, who had not too many forces for the defence of the island, awaited the shock with as much vigilance as resolution; but they had not sent one of their galleys to sea. The Venetians, who dreaded a war with such a formidable power, had taken great care how they provoked it; they had only provisioned and prepared all their islands, in case the Turks should attack any of them.

When the Ottomans were off Candia, the captain bashaw dispatched a brigantine to Constantinople, to inform the emperor of his safe arrival, and that he was then going to land the troops. Immediately on this, war was publicly declared. The Turks, instead of sending back the Venetian ambassador, shut him up in a close prison, and published by sound of trumpet, that they might kill, or make slaves of, all the subjects of the republic.

Meanwhile the fleet advanced towards Candia: it formed a crescent on the sea, which was disturbed only just as much as was necessary to  
execute



execute a manœuvre. The descent was made <sup>J.C. 1645.  
Heg. 1055.</sup> without any opposition. The isle of Candia is about two hundred and fifty miles long and sixty broad; it is situated in a fine climate, and is very populous and fertile, like all the isles of the Archipelago. The Turks encamped for some time, in order to refresh themselves and get a knowledge of the country, which they caused to be scoured by some parties of cavalry. All the peasants had retired to the towns, but they had not had time to transport the riches of the country thither. The Turks found every where the abundance that they had expected, and which they knew how to turn to advantage. Musa bashaw resolved to besiege Candia. This place was considered as the second in the island; <sup>Candia and Retimo taken.</sup> though it was well victualed and bravely defended, the Turks entered the town after granting the garrison leave to march out with their arms and baggage. Cornaro, who commanded at Candia, thought it would be best to spare his men for the defence of the rest of the island. He went and threw himself into Retimo, another place which was taken the same campaign, after Cornaro had been killed in the breach.

The captain bashaw, who saw this war so auspiciously commenced, wished to carry the news of his success to Constantinople, before the season might render the sea dangerous. He knew he should meet no enemies on his passage, as some spies, which the Turks kept at Venice, had sent

J.C. 1645. him word that the republic was soliciting succours  
 Heg. 1055. in vain throughout Christendom. The pope was  
 unable to obtain from the different powers of Italy either the troops or vessels that he asked. Neither the Genoese, nor the knights of Malta, nor the grand duke of Tuscany, would send vessels in the same fleet, because each power claimed the honor of the flag. In vain did the pope represent to them that these disputes would cause the Venetians the loss of the isle of Candia, strengthen the power of the Turks, and bring them nearer and nearer to Italy; in vain did he propose to have all the vessels of the different powers sail under the flag of Saint Peter, as an auxiliary fleet, and to put off to a more fortunate period this discussion of precedency so fatal to the common cause. Neither the grand duke nor Genoa would consent to this expedient. The galleys of the pope and those of the Order of Malta not finding themselves strong enough to keep the sea against such a considerable fleet as that of the Turks, would not venture to attack them on their return, though war was declared.

Campaign  
 in Dalma-  
 tia, unfor-  
 tunate for  
 the Turks.

This same campaign the grand seignior had sent an army into Dalmatia, in order to attack the Venetians on more than one side; but that republic was more fortunate on the continent than it had been in the island of Candia. Foscolo, the Venetian general, repulsed Alibec, the sangiac of Clissa, and took Novigrad, the fortifications of which he demolished.

The

The emperor Ibrahim appeared as little af-  
 frightened at the ill success of his arms in Dal-  
 matia, as he had been insensible of their success in  
 the isle of Candia. All the blood that was shed to  
 wash away the pretended insult offered to his flag,  
 or rather to extend the Ottoman possessions, was  
 foreign to him, and he would not have given  
 himself any uneasiness about the success of the  
 fleet, if it had not rendered the passage of the  
 vessels more hazardous which brought rich stuffs  
 from Europe to satisfy the luxury of his assakys.  
 Brigantines were dispatched from Constanti-  
 nople to meet the merchantmen, which exped-  
 ited the arrival of these superfluities, much  
 more interesting for the Ottoman court, than  
 the news of a province added to the empire  
 would have been. This proceeding was very in-  
 jurious to commerce. The eunuchs, who served  
 the impatience of their mistresses, excused them-  
 selves from paying for the commodities which  
 they bought up, as they said the merchants  
 would receive their money at Constantinople;  
 and when the vessels were at length arrived in  
 the port, the captains, who had parted with  
 their goods, could not get themselves paid.  
 Some English experienced this injustice several  
 times following. Sir - - - Bendish their am-  
 bassador, who was at the Porte, like the other  
 ministers of the European powers, principally to  
 protect the commerce of his nation, complained  
 to the grand vizier; whose reply was always,

J.C. 1646.  
 Heg. 1056.

The Eng-  
 lish ambaf-  
 sador has  
 justice  
 done the  
 merchants  
 of his na-  
 tion.

J.C. 1646. that he could take no notice of this affair.  
 Heg. 1056.

**Sir - - - Bendish**, in concert with Mr. Lahaye, at that time ambassador from France, and the Dutch ambassador, resolved to demand of the grand seignior himself the justice which his ministers refused him. All the foreign vessels then in the port of Constantinople, sailed along by the seraglio walls, carrying an earthen pan filled with fire at their main mast head. We have already said that those, who have some complaint to make to the grand seignior, hold a lighted match over their heads. This fleet of more than forty sail, thus lighted up, presented the idea of a menace rather than a complaint. All the sailors made loud shouts to the emperor Ibrahim, from whom, as they said, they wished to obtain justice prior to their demanding it from their masters. The grand seignior and his vizier perceived the necessity of stifling these clamours. The merchants were heard, and their vessels did not re-enter the port 'till their demands had been fully satisfied. **Sir - - - Bendish** was but badly recompensed for the service which he had just rendered his nation. Though the merchants saw him entirely occupied with the care of protecting their commerce and defending them from vexations, they found out that he had that unpardonable fault for an Englishman of that century, the being faithful to his lawful sovereign. They presently refused to acknowledge the sort of magistracy which all the ambassadors at the Porte exercise over their countrymen; without

He is soon after disregarded and sent back to England.

without agreeing at first in the real cause of their discontent, they pretended to shake off his authority under a thousand false pretences; so much so, that the ambassador saw himself obliged to have recourse to the grand vizier to keep the English in obedience; but when the parliament of England had manifested its revolt, the merchants of the factory of Constantinople declared, that they would no longer acknowledge the ambassador of Charles Stuart. They scattered plenty of gold in the seraglio in order to obtain the support of sultaneſs Kioſem. Notwithstanding the strong representations of the French ambassador, who in vain attempted to make the grand vizier comprehend that this affair equally interested every monarch, ſir - - - Bendish was arrested in the English palace, and conducted, with the most indecent precipitation, on board a vessel, which carried him back to his own country. Lady Bendish, his wife, was allowed but three days to have her effects shipped on board another vessel. Ibrahim, most likely, was ignorant of this manifest violation of the law of sovereigns; and was incapable perhaps of comprehending how dangerous such an example given his nation might be for himself.

This prince, more taken up with his family than his empire, married his daughter, only four years old, to the captain bashaw Jousef. This officer was immensely rich, less by the place that he held, which has very considerable revenues,

Marriage of the captain bashaw, Jousef, with one of the emperor's daughters.

than

J.C. 1646.  
Hag. 1056.

than by the fortune which his father left him, who had been a long time an officer in the customs. Jousef had succeeded to the whole of it, though, according to law, the chattels of the officers of the empire belong to the grand seignior at their death: their children inheriting the houses and lands only. Sultan Amurath IV. had given Jousef all his paternal property, as a recompense for his services; and Ibrahim, who, like his predecessors, counted among his possessions the private fortunes of his subjects, had determined to secure his daughter that of Jousef. We have already seen that this honor is not very desirable for the great men of the Ottoman empire. Without much augmenting their power, it gives them an additional master, instead of several obedient wives; but no one dares refuse this supposed favor, which the sultans often render still more burdensome, by marrying their daughters in the most tender age; and the husband is obliged to be faithful to a child, because she is the daughter of his sovereign; he is not to know any other woman more than his imperious half will deign to permit him. The sultaneßes by birth wear a poniard at their girdle, like those worn by the grand seignior's ladies, and the husband given them, to speak properly, is nothing more than their upper servant. The captain bashaw had but just concluded a marriage of this kind, when Ibrahim, who 'till then had always trusted the whole management of affairs to his vizier,

zier, commanded his new son-in-law to get ready a fleet to carry troops and ammunition to Candia. It was then the middle of winter, and the winds rendered navigation impracticable. The captain bashaw took the liberty to represent to his master that this order was premature, and that it would be exposing to an almost certain loss all the vessels that should be sent to sea at that season, which was equally improper too for military operations. Ibrahim saw only, in a representation so just, the audacity of a subject who had the presumption to disobey him. Being little accustomed to yield to good reasons, he reiterated his order with the tone of an emperor that will be obeyed. Jousef repeated his objections more particularly; Ibrahim, more and more irritated, told the captain bashaw, that he must obey or die: Jousef replied, that he would rather die alone, than draw so many thousands of men along with him in his ruin. Ibrahim ordered him to be taken from his presence, and signed the same instant a catcherif, which condemned him to be strangled. The grand vizier, who witnessed what had passed, endeavoured to avert this iniquitous judgment of his master's, and preserve the nation a useful subject. He went to the condemned admiral in the place where he was guarded, and, taking upon him to retard the execution of the catcherif, pressed the captain bashaw to make the emperor satisfaction, whose anger would probably be mitigated by the circumstance of his recent marriage.

J.C. 1646.  
Heg. 1056.

Reason of  
his speedy  
disgrace.

J.C. 1647.  
Heg. 1057.

J.C. 1647. riage. The vizier went so far as to answer for pro-  
 Heg. 1057. curing the revocation of this cruel order, if the  
 captain bashaw would but ask pardon; but the  
 emperor's son-in-law was immoveable; he replied  
 to the grand vizier, that when a person was born  
 an Ottoman, and particularly a subject of Ibra-  
 him's, he should be contented to die; that he  
 lamented sincerely those who were to grow old  
 under such a master, and who should witness the  
 many disorders that would infallibly happen.  
 He eagerly demanded the catcherif which con-  
 demned him to death. The grand vizier held it  
 hidden in his bosom. When it had been given  
 to Jousef, he wrote under it that he blessed the  
 will of the emperor, and the hour in which his  
 soul was to be re-united to the supreme being;  
 that he supplicated his highness, through favor  
 of his new marriage, to suffer fifty purses, which  
 make three thousand one hundred and twenty-  
 five pounds sterling, to be taken from his im-  
 mense fortune which was going to belong to the  
 sultane's wife, intending that sum for the  
 maintenance of a son which his favorite slave had  
 brought him the day before; that this sum would  
 be sufficient for the mother and son to lead a pri-  
 vate life at a distance from Constantinople, which  
 he ordered them to quit for ever. After having  
 signed this, Jousef returned the catcherif to the  
 grand vizier; he gave him a large diamond which  
 ornamented his turban, conjuring him to take  
 care and see what he had written put in exe-  
 cution.



cution. He said aloud his prayer, called the executioners, and made a sign to them to put the fatal bow-string around his neck.

J.C. 1647.  
Heg. 1057.

He is  
strangled.

Joufef was beloved. Not only the levantis, who served under him, but the janissaries, spahis, and even the ulema, learned with indignation the captain bashaw's death. They assembled in the streets, even in the seraglio courts, and talked rather loudly of what was to be expected from a prince as sanguinary as effeminate. The grand vizier, who foresaw a mutiny, advised his master to change his residence. Ibrahim set out for Adrianople; but as this was the first time that the emperor had left his capital, it was customary that he should make a present to the troops. They tumultuously demanded it as soon as he arrived in his new residence. The prince pretended that this gratification was due, only when he took the field himself, and that as he was not going against the enemy, the janissaries and spahis should have no augmentation of pay. This evasion was insufficient to satisfy the soldiers; they were soon heard to murmur loudly. The grand seignior, whose avarice and uneasiness were both very great, returned to his capital, leaving this mutinous soldiery at Adrianople. The grand vizier, without ordering any public chastisements, which might have endangered his authority, secured the ringleaders by night, and had them thrown into the sea. The malecontents, who perceived that their chiefs disappeared, grew

The emperor goes to Adrianople, and returns again presently after.

J.C. 1647.  
Heg. 1057.  
quiet, for fear of disappearing in their turn; and Ibrahim, who had never appeared to concern himself about the Candian war but just when he put the unfortunate Jousef to death, no longer paid the least attention to the affairs of the empire, the whole management of which was left to the grand vizier.

The emperor's most serious conferences were with an old concubine, whose charms were tarnished by age, whom Ibrahim employed to visit all the baths of Constantinople, even the private houses, to discover new beauties for him, which he might buy for gold, or wrest from their parents. Though his haram was filled with a thousand young slaves brought at a great expence from the extremities of the empire, his desires were not satisfied. His wishes, accustomed to be anticipated, must be stirred up by difficulties.

History of  
the daughter  
of the  
musti  
Regel.

One day, Ibrahim's emissary of pleasures came to tell him, that she had met a young woman in a bath whose figure and mien equalled the regularity of her features. This perfect beauty was the only daughter of Regel, the grand musti. The voluptuous monarch sent immediately for the chief of the law, and demanded of him his daughter with the eagerness of a young man who desires, and the authority of a despot that commands. Regel effendi loved his daughter above every thing; he represented to his master, that the most favorite sultaneßes had never been taken but from the rank of slaves, since the emperors  
had

had thought it beneath them to marry; and that the daughter of the grand musti was never designed to be a slave. Ibrahim, irritated by the difficulties, promised to marry her, whether his design was to keep his word, or only to gratify his passion by a perjury. The old man, who saw with grief the difficulties removed, thanked the emperor for the honor he did his daughter; but, like a good father, he made the consent of the young girl a condition of this union. On his return home, the musti reflected seriously on Ibrahim's inconstancy, and all his other vices, which daily exposed him to the fatal end which several of his predecessors had already experienced, who had not merited it so much. He thought the people would no more pardon Ibrahim for contracting a marriage than they had Othman II.; that this superficial prince, disgusted with his new spouse after the heat of his passion should be over, would slight her, and perhaps condemn her to a slavery that would never end; that the emperor having already several male children, the princes that should be born of his daughter, could expect nothing but a perpetual imprisonment, or a premature death. These reflections determined the musti not to represent to his daughter, docile to his orders and advice, the splendid alliance offered her, but as a danger which should be avoided at any rate, and he carried the emperor the answer which he had himself dictated, exposing himself to all his mas-

J.C. 1647.  
Heg. 1057.

J.C. 1647.  
Heg. 1037.

ter's anger for the interest of his daughter. Ibrahim, afflicted at this obstacle, which he had not foreseen, nevertheless was not discouraged. He sent his old procuress' to the musti's. In vain did this tempter set forth to the young beauty the splendor and delights of a throne. The latter, convinced by her father's arguments of the impropriety of accepting the sultan's offer, persisted in her refusal. All the fruit that the emperor's agent gained by her endeavours, was a diamond which the young woman gave her, conjuring her to leave her in peace, and to prevail on the sultan not to be displeased at her refusal. And indeed this woman, on her return to the seraglio, endeavoured to persuade Ibrahim to think no more of what appeared to be impossible; but he was not to be thus discouraged. The musti's daughter was secured, as she was going to the bath accompanied by some slaves of her own sex only. She was dragged to the haram, and the emperor ravished this fair-one by the basest violence, whom neither the splendor of a throne, nor his prayers, nor his power, had been able to obtain. The daughter of the musti shewed her ravisher nothing but grief and hatred: she never saw the emperor without expressing to him the horror with which he inspired her. After some days, Ibrahim, despairing to surmount her aversion; irritated likewise by the bitter reproaches which he continually heard, and to which his ears were not accustomed, sent back this unhappy fair one

one to her father's house. The musti retained in his heart the strongest resentment of this affront ; he resolved to be revenged the first opportunity, which was not long in presenting itself.

J.C. 1647.  
Heg. 1057.

We have observed, that the grand vizier had caused several janissaries to be put to death in the night when Ibrahim left Adrianople, without trial or accusation, and without even any one's knowing the manner of their death, or by what authority they had been condemned. These nocturnal executions had at first spread terror : they presently excited resentment. Those that lamented a father, a brother, or a friend, and who feared a similar lot for themselves, after having cursed in private the severity of the government, ventured to complain among themselves of this vizier, who, not contented with keeping back what belonged to the soldiers, to satisfy the luxury of the emperor, so cruelly punished just complaints. The attentive musti heard these murmurs, and did not fail to encourage them. He assembled a great many malecontents at his house, under pretence of uniting all the mollahs who were under his jurisdiction. He admitted some priests to this assembly, and all the soldiers that came to express their fear and hatred to him. When he was sure of a number of janissaries, the musti told them, that he was going to assemble the ulema in Ortadjami mosque ; that they should bring their chiefs there, and even those of the spahis, as it was to be feared they would take part with the

Revolution  
which pulls  
down Ibra-  
him from  
his throne

grand

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058. grand vizier, if they were not consulted. It was not against the grand vizier that the musti's resentment was strongest; but, as he knew the obstinacy and incapacity of Ibrahim, he hoped, with reason, that the latter would attempt to defend his minister, and so bring on his own downfall. The projected assembly took place the next morning at break of day. The number and quality of those that composed it, so terrified the grand vizier, that he was afraid to attempt to disperse the malecontents himself. Mehemet retired to the seraglio, where he implored the protection of his master; for he did not doubt but they aimed at him.\* Ibrahim sent the bostangi pachi and the capiggi pachi, accompanied by some of their people, with a catcherif to this assembly, which contained in substance, that all that were in Ortadjami mosque should leave it, and retire to their own houses to wait for the emperor's orders. The two officers were introduced into the mosque, but their retinue was not permitted to accompany them. After they had given the catcherif to the musti, they received from him a fetfa, which proscribed the life of the grand vizier, and the precise terms of which required the emperor to send the head of that tyrant, robber, and assassin of the janissaries, to this assembly, which refused to separate before they had obtained the justice which

\* These particulars are taken from Naima effendi, fir Paul Ricaut, and the dispatches of Mr. Lahaye, at that time ambassador from France to the Porte.

which they demanded. When the two officers of the seraglio reported to their master the musti's fetfa, they found Ibrahim intimidated, as he had just been informed that the janissaries had shut all the gates of Constantinople. The emperor wrote that he consented to the deposition of Mehemet bashaw; that that minister might have deceived him; but that he would not put him to death, because he was his brother-in-law, and had done nothing but by his orders. This answer made the musti fear that the janissaries and spahis, satisfied with the deposition of the grand vizier, would separate. As he was determined not to miss his prey, he exclaimed, without waiting for the advice of the military and the effendis, that the emperor's proceeding was an evasion, and that they should be no sooner separated, than the proscriptions and assassinations would be recommenced; that Ibrahim must be constrained to do justice; and that, since he did not name a new grand vizier, the assembly ought to name one, who should pursue the head of his predecessor. The musti's friends were of the same opinion: the spahi agasi, Murad, an old man of near eighty years of age, was named grand vizier. It was decided that all the effendis and officers assembled should march two and two to the seraglio; that the spahis and janissaries should be prevented from taking up arms, and that their officers should have nothing but their white sticks. The musti had good reasons for acting in this manner; he

hoped

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

hoped to provoke Ibrahim to do some violence which might set all the janissaries against him; and, in order thereto, he wished to have this prince, so susceptible of being intimidated, believe that he had nothing to fear from a mutinous soldiery. The spahi agasi, the new grand vizier, went to the sultan, trembling at every step, accompanied by thirty deputies, fifteen of whom were effendis and fifteen military officers. He told the emperor, that it was against his will he had accepted the place of grand vizier; that he conjured his highness to grant the head of Mehemet to the ulema and the two most powerful military corps in the empire, who complained with reason against the injustice of that minister. The sultan, irritated at this suppliant voice, exclaimed: "Dog, it is thou that hast kindled the  
" fire of rebellion, in order to become grand vi-  
" zier: when it is extinguished, thou wilt know  
" what chastisement I reserve for thee." The old man having attempted to reply, Ibrahim, unable to contain himself any longer, seized the grand vizier by the beard, and disgraced himself so far as to strike him several blows. The deputies wrested Murad out of his hands, and retired in confusion to those of their party that waited for them in the lobby of the seraglio. Ibrahim's answer and behaviour had all the effect on the malecontents which the musti had hoped for. They exclaimed, that an emperor so unworthy of his rank should be deposed, and that  
there



there was no time to be lost to assemble the troops. Whilst the officers of the spahis and janissaries were spreading themselves over the town to arm their odas, the musti, the vizier Murad, and the two cadileskers, went and desired to speak with the valid sultaneßs. This princess appeared before them, covered with a veil, surrounded by the kishar agasi and some other black eunuchs carrying fans and pots filled with perfumes. These two great officers declared to her, that, if she would preserve her power, she must consent to her son's being deposed; that this also was the only way to save his life; that the seraglio would be invested within an hour; and that she must submit to circumstances, and prepare the timid flock of the seraglio, and the emperor himself, for his deposition, or be resolved to see a great deal of blood shed, and perhaps perish with her son. The valid sultaneßs, who had not forgotten the emperor's menaces, when she had attempted to oppose his passion for one of the widows of Amurath IV. who also flattered herself with the principal authority under her grand-son, a child of six years old, the mother of whom was a young sultaneßs without credit or experience, after some feeble prayers, seemed to consent to what she could not prevent. Night was approaching: the troops, just assembled, blocked up the seraglio, and the malecontents agreed to complete their work at break of day. The grand vizier Murad, on his return to his own house, found his

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

predecessor there, whose retreat had been discovered, and whom a detachment of spahis had brought him. Murad treated Mehemet with apparent pity; he even paid him some respect; and on the late vizier's earnestly begging of him his life, Murad replied, that nothing but a sincere declaration of all his effects could obtain it him, and he had him conducted to his own house with tapers, guarded by the same troop which had brought him. A very short time after, the defterdar arrived at the deposed grand vizier's, to seize all his effects and receive his declaration. It was with difficulty this officer could wrest it from Mehemet's mouth, who would fain reserve part of his fortune. When he had been constrained by repeated solicitations and menaces to strip himself entirely, he said, with tears in his eyes, that, if he were permitted to live, he was not left wherewithal to maintain himself. As he was endeavouring to repose himself on his bed, they came to take him from it before day by order of the grand vizier; and, as soon as he was in the lobby of his house, the officer who commanded the guard declared to him that he must die. He was immediately strangled, and the first rays of the sun discovered to the people the head of Mehemet set up in the Hippodrom.

However, neither the hatred of the musti nor the ardour of the malecontents was abated. As soon as day appeared, all the ulema, the viziers of the arched roof or bashaws of the bench, and the

the officers of the spahis and janissaries, repaired to the mosque of St. Sophia. The sight of Mehemet's head, only animated them more. The musti laid before the assembly a striking picture of the misfortunes of the empire, the vices of its chief, his violences and depredations. He said, that, though Amurath IV. had left the empire in the most flourishing state, in less than ten years the provinces had been ruined, the public treasury drained, the army discouraged, and the marine almost annihilated; that the Christians also had gotten possession of one part of Dalmatia; that the Venetian fleet blocked up the Dardanelles; that a numerous army, sent to the isle of Candia, was reduced almost to nothing; that all this was the work of one man, who shewed his power by injustices only, and who had undertaken to govern the state, merely to expose his profound incapacity. He mentioned the base manner in which the emperor had the day before treated the new vizier Murad, and concluded with saying, that they could not, without a crime, neglect the means of saving the empire. The grand vizier, who had arranged matters with the chief of the law, publicly proposed to him to grant a fetfa, which should cite this prince to appear before the assembly to give an account of his conduct. This fetfa was presently prepared, and the aga of the janissaries, accompanied by the two cadileskers, went with it to Ibrahim. All the janissaries, who were drawn up in the Hippodrom,

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

marched towards the seraglio, and took possession of the outer court. The odas pachis and other superior officers, entered into the second, and declared to the bostangis and capiggis assembled, that, if they made the least resistance, they should be all put to the sword. This timid soldiery, who had no great regard for the emperor, made no attempt to defend him. Ibrahim tore the fetfa to pieces, and threatened to have the musti put to death; but the aga of the janissaries having told him that it was his highness's life much more than the musti's which was in danger, and that he was going to endeavour to obtain permission for him to end his days in prison, Ibrahim, whose whole rage was converted into terror, turned towards the icoglans and other officers of the seraglio who surrounded him, and said: "Is there none of you whom I have loaded  
" with so many favors, who will venture his life  
" for his master?" Ibrahim ran to the apartment of the valid sultaneß, who declared to him that he must resign the empire.

Meanwhile the aga of the janissaries and the two cadileßkers returned to St. Sophia's. On the report which they gave of their mission, the musti granted a new fetfa, which declared, that an emperor who had transgressed all the laws of the Alcoran, was an Infidel, and as such no longer deserved to command Mussulmen. After this decision, the whole assembly proceeded towards the seraglio. They passed between two rows of  
janissaries:

janiffariea: the spahis on horseback filled the Hippodrom and the other squares of Constantinople. On the arrival of the chiefs in the divan chamber, they ordered the black eunuchs to take Ibrahim from the women's apartment and bring him into their presence. This prince, obliged to appear before those whom he had in vain attempted to intimidate, descended to the humblest prayers, and reminded them of his favors; but the remembrance of his injustices was more recent. The musti, who no longer regarded him but as the ravisher of his daughter, loaded him with reproaches; he had promised the valid sultaness the day before to let him live, and all those, that had contributed to dethrone this prince, had agreed not to dip their hands in his blood. The musti and the grand vizier made a sign to the icoglans to drag him to the prison which was already prepared for him. As soon as he had entered, the doors and windows were nailed up: nothing was left but a small opening by which meat was to be conveyed to him; such was the lot of him who had been one of the most powerful monarchs in the world. Some old slaves were shut up in the same prison to wait on him. Immediately the public criers spread themselves over Constantinople, publishing in the streets and from the tops of the minarets of the mosques, that Mahomet IV. was emperor of the East. They went for this prince in an apartment near the haram. Mahomet was not seven years old.

J.C. 1623.  
Reg. 1056.

J.C. 1648. old. They conducted him to the divan chamber.  
 Heg. 1058.

When he was seated on the throne of his ancestors, the musti proclaimed the new emperor aloud. He made a pathetic discourse to this prince on the duty of sovereigns; and informed him of the fate of some of his predecessors who had abused their power, in order to teach him that bad monarchs were chastised like the rest of mankind. The prince was then conducted to Jub mosque to have the sword of Othman girded on him. His tender age would not admit of his going on horseback; he went in an open litter amidst the acclamations of the people, who wished long life to their new emperor, and saw with pleasure the grand vizier on horseback near the sultan's litter.

This minister, proclaimed rather than chosen by the whole body of ulema, the spahis, and janissaries, was no way proper to govern an empire amidst the troubles of a minority. He had served with honor at the head of the spahis, and had justly merited to be a vizier of the arched roof, to which Amurath IV. had raised him, without his losing the command of the finest cavalry in the empire; but this minister was enfeebled by age. The musti had proposed him to the troops, because he hoped to concentrate the whole authority in himself, divided between an old man little formed for business, and a woman whom he supposed incapable of it. Tourhane, the mother of Mahomet, became valid sultaneß by the accession  
 of

of her son to the throne. She was much less <sup>J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.</sup> touched with the misfortune of the prince who had made her sultanness, than pleased with the thought of reigning in the name of a child. But Kiossem had no intention of surrendering the reins of the empire to a young odalisk.

When the ceremony of the proclamation was over, the grand vizier and the mufti learned, by the kishlar aga, that the whole seraglio was resounding with the cries of the unfortunate Ibrahim, who, from the bottom of his prison, demanded vengeance from Heaven, and implored the succours of those that he had loaded with favors. These loud complaints excited the compassion of all that heard them. Some even began to say boldly, that the lot of the most powerful monarch in the world was such, that his late servants had bitter reproaches to charge themselves with. The grand vizier and the mufti soon comprehended the danger they were in. They resolved to stifle cries capable of awaking gratitude and exciting remorse. Taking with them some officers of the janissaries, and several executioners, they proceeded to Ibrahim's dungeon. At first they were unable to enter it, as those that had shut up the unfortunate prince, had filled up the lock with melted lead, choosing that this place should be rather a tomb than a prison. They were obliged to make use of axes to break open the door. The noise which they made threw some hope into the heart of Ibrahim; he thought

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

thought for a moment that his cries had raised him up deliverers. But when, on the doors being forced, he perceived the implacable musti and the grand vizier whom he had used so ill, his despair was at its height. He loaded with imprecations these two ministers and the kislar agasi, whom he called several times vipers and monsters of ingratitude. They had great difficulty to execute their design; for when they ordered the executioners to put the fatal bowstring around Ibrahim's neck, these wretches were so affected, that they fell at the prince's feet. The grand vizier and the musti, who could not prevail on these slaves to lay hands on their sovereign, before whom they had trembled so long, beat them severely with their sticks, and caused the axes which had been made use of to break open the door to be lifted over their heads. By means of blows and threats, they constrained them to strangle Ibrahim, who, in this circumstance, would have saved his life perhaps, if his courage had seconded the repugnancy which the executioners shewed to lay violent hands on their emperor. Thus perished the feeble Ibrahim, the 17th of August, 1648, after a life of thirty-one years, and an ignominious reign of nine, which gave reason to fear the decline of the Ottoman empire.

Death of  
Ibrahim.

MAHOMET



J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

## M A H O M E T IV.

## NINETEENTH REIGN.

**T**HOUGH the Turks had deposed and put to death several of their sovereigns, the major part of them had a real respect for the blood of their masters. It should be remembered that even those that had pressed the deposition of sultan Othman II. had interested themselves in revenging his death. It was the same when the spahis learned that the grand vizier and the officers of the janissaries had dipped their hands in the blood of Ibrahim. These troopers had remained in the outer courts of the seraglio, trusting to the janissaries for the execution of the conspiracy. They saw with horror that they had been made, in some respects, accomplices in a crime which they would willingly have prevented. The spahis communicated their complaints to all that had any share in the government: every one was anxious to throw this crime on another. The cunning musti still found means to escape, though he was the real author of this murder. He soon perceived that the two valid sultaneesses would not be able to live long in harmony. He resolved therefore to devote himself to the service of Kiosem; first, because her age, experience, and long acquaintance with

The spahis shew their discontent at the murder of Ibrahim.

VOL. III. S business,

I.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

business, seemed likely to give the emperor's grand-mother the advantage over her competitor; and, secondly, because he observed that the grand vizier Murad bashaw, an accomplice like himself in the murder of Ibrahim, seemed to listen to Tourhane; that in consequence it would not be difficult to set Kiossem against the prime minister, and persuade her to cause all the indignation of the spahis and people to fall on Murad bashaw, and sacrifice him to the manes of the emperor Ibrahim. The spahis were the more animated against Murad, because that vizier had been their chief, and they would willingly wash their hands of the murder of their sovereign in presence of the whole empire. A march which Murad bashaw made towards Scutari, at the head of some odas of janissaries, with intention to disperse some malecontents, completed his downfall. The musti took advantage of his absence to demand loudly his punishment. He declared to sultane's Kiossem, that a civil war was inevitable, if it were not determined to satisfy the spahis; that it being the custom of the Ottoman empire to give the mother of the sovereign an authority which she had enjoyed herself under two of her sons, the young Tourhane, aided by the prime minister, and sustained by the janissaries, would come to govern the empire during the infancy of her son, if measures were not presently taken to deprive her of her supporters; that in fine, since a victim must be sacrificed to the people, it was best

best to abandon to them an old fellow who would be soon incapable of rendering any service, and who was the original cause and real instrument of the murder which the Ottomans were determined to avenge. The grand vizier's death was resolved on; but as it would have been dangerous to go and demand his head, whilst he was surrounded by the janissaries that he had marched to Scutari, the cadilekiers were appointed to negotiate an accommodation between the two military corps. It was as favorable for the janissaries as they could expect. Those only were proscribed that had broken open the door of Ibrahim's dungeon, and the executioners whom the vizier and the musti had forced, by blows, to strangle their master. These wretches were surprised in the night, before they had time to defend themselves, and thrown into the sea in leather sacks. It is easy to conceive the interest which the musti had to hasten, and at the same time to conceal, their punishment, as they were the only witnesses of his having been an accomplice with the grand vizier. But Murad, on his return to Constantinople, had no sooner entered the seraglio to preside at the divan, than he was presented with a fetfa of the musti, which declared, that he, who had dipped his hands in the blood of his sovereign, deserved death. It was of no service to the unfortunate grand vizier to exclaim, that he, who condemned him, was his accomplice; the fetfa was confirmed by a catcherif of the grand seignior, and he was

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

The musti causes all the officers and executioners who were accomplices in this murder to be condemned; even the grand vizier, who is surprised & strangled.

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

immediately strangled. They hastened his execution in order to stifle his clamours, and prevent his friends and the young valid sultaneſs from endeavouring to ſave him, Murad's head was immediately thrown into the outer ſeraglio court. At this ſight, there was ſome commotion among the janiffaries; but when their aga had ſpoke to them in the name of the emperor, and had intimated to them that the ſpilling of this miniſter's blood was likely to ſpare a great deal more, they were ſatisfied, on being aſſured that there ſhould be no more proſcriptions.

Sciaus baſhaw is made grand vizier.

Sciaus baſhaw, the premier vizier of the arched roof, who had been a long time governor of Natolia, was made grand vizier. However fond this new miniſter might be of peace, he could not hope for a continuance of it under an infant prince, between two military corps equally formidable, and greatly incenſed againſt each other, and ſtill leſs between two ſultaneſſes whoſe rights, or, at leaſt, pretenſions, were ſo contrary. The ſultaneſs Tourhane ſincerely regretted the vizier Murad, whom ſhe had choſen for her guide. Sciaus reſolved to pay his court to this young valid, flattering himſelf with more authority under the name of his maſter's mother, whoſe experience ſtood in need of a guide, than under the imperious Kioſem, who was leſs deſirous of advice than instruments of her power. Kioſem knew in a few days that ſhe muſt not depend on the new grand vizier. As ſhe took upon her to diſpoſe of ſeveral

several places, Sciaus, without regarding her orders, made use of the seals of the empire to distribute the timars, and even the vacant sangiacates, to his creatures and those of the sultaneſs Tourhane. In the sort of anarchy inseparable from a minority, he, who was master of the seals, was stronger than all the other ministers together. Kiosem, irritated, sought support among the chiefs of the soldiery. She gained over Beſtas, the aga of the janissaries, by means of presents and fine promises, assuring him, that if he could put Solyman, Mahomet's next brother, on the throne, she would make him grand vizier as absolute as Sciaus was. The muſti, who had already destroyed one grand vizier, would not hazard his credit against a second. He let the cadileſkers and the other men of the law lend their assistance to Kiosem's creatures, persuaded that he should become the arbitrator of the quarrel, and resolved to declare himself for the strongest. It was not without reason that Kiosem wanted to make Solyman emperor. This prince, who was some months younger than Mahomet, had no mother; the affaky, who had brought him into the world, died soon after. Thus the grand-mother of this orphan would have had no one to dispute either the rank or authority of valid sultaneſs with her: she would have been able to shut up the ambitious Tourhane in the old seraglio, perhaps even condemn her to death, and free herself from those that had

J.C. 1648.  
Heg. 1058.

He displeases the sultaneſs Kiosem.

She conspires with the aga of the janissaries to depose Mahomet IV. and set up Solyman.  
J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

seized

J.C. 1649. seized on the authority. The aga of the janissaries  
 Heg. 1059. } thought he had found a favorable occasion for a revolution, by complaining loudly of the troops' having been paid with money in which there was a great deal of allay. The grand vizier, in order to dispel the storm, forbade more than three soldiers, or six citizens, to walk together in the streets. In a few days, Sciaus thought himself in safety, as neither the spahis nor people had taken part in the complaints of the janissaries. But one night, as he was buried in a profound sleep, he was suddenly awaked and informed that a numerous assembly was in Ortadjami mosque, and that the janissaries had been met armed and dispersed in the streets. Sciaus got up with precipitation, put on his armour, and marched towards this rebellious assembly at the head of some guards called dellis, which accompany the grand vizier in public, less for his security, than on account of the dignity of his place. Sciaus was no sooner discovered in the streets by the light of some torches which the janissaries carried, than the latter, who had had time to draw up in parties at each crossing, obliged the minister to continue his way to Ortadjami mosque, first by shutting the entrance to his house, and afterward that of all the streets through which he had passed. Sciaus perceived that it was necessary for him to appear to follow voluntarily the road which he was obliged to keep. On his arrival at the door of the mosque, he met several

Numerous  
 assembly in  
 Ortadjami  
 mosque.

veral effendis, who invited him to place himself by the aga of the janissaries, who was sitting at the upper end of this vast building, which was filled with armed men and burning torches. Though the grand vizier was agitated, he remarked that neither of the cadileklers, nor viziers of the arched roof or bashaws of the bench, nor even any of the officers of the spahis, were in this assembly. Those that surrounded the aga of the janissaries, after his kiaia, or lieutenant of that corps, were only mollas, imans, and odas pachis. Bektas received the principal officer of the empire rather haughtily; he scarcely yielded him the first place: and when he was seated, the aga of the janissaries told him, that this assembly of brave Ottomans was considering of the means to restore order and confidence in the government, which a feeble odalisk was disposed to usurp; that since the misfortunes of the empire constrained them to obey a child, it was at least necessary that those that reigned in the name of the infant, should be able to discharge the duties which his age rendered him incapable of; that a woman without experience was not designed to govern the first empire in the world; that the allaying of the money sufficiently demonstrated how much reason there was to fear depredations and disorders; and that the grand vizier must swear by the sword which he wore, by God, by the prophet, and by all those who composed the assembly, that from thenceforward, he would acknowledge Solyman

J.C. 1649.  
Reg. 1059.

The grand vizier is obliged to go there; he dissem- bles.

J.C. 1649  
Heg. 1059.

man for the lawful emperor of the Ottomans, that he would contribute to place him on the throne, and that, at break of day, he would repair to the seraglio to proclaim the new monarch, and to shut up Mahomet and his mother in prison. If the grand vizier had shewn his disapprobation of what he had just heard in the smallest manner, he would never have left this mosque. Believing himself authorised by the circumstance to dissemble, he approved of Bectas's discourse. He uttered a thousand imprecations against the young valid sultaneſs, adding, that, if a woman muſt have a ſhare in the government, it were much better for that power to be given to ſultaneſs Kioſem, whoſe age, experience, and proved talents, merited indeed ſome confidence. He declared, that his only reaſon for oppoſing aſſemblies in the ſtreets was to prevent the tumults of a blind populace, and give himſelf time to conſult the chiefs of the ulema and different military corps. In fine, he promiſed, by the head of the prophet, to diſpoſe every thing for bringing about the revolution at break of day, which was yet very diſtant, as it was then the middle of winter. The effendis and ſoldiers, charmed to hear theſe promiſes from the mouth even of Sciaus, did not doubt that they were ſincere; and as they began to grow tumultuous, the vizier repreſented to them that it would be improper to make any noiſe till day-light; that he was going to convoke the muſti, the viziers of the arched roof, and the chiefs



chiefs of the spahis ; that the parties of janissaries which he had met in the streets should remain quiet 'till then, as there was no occasion to excite a mutiny, when there was no resistance likely to take place ; that so many soldiers, armed in the dead of the night, might commit depredations on the inhabitants ; that these lighted torches, both in the streets and mosques, were good for nothing but to alarm the people and cause fires ; that in fine, if it were not thought convenient to disarm the janissaries (which in fact might be difficult, as they had left their odas), it was at least necessary to keep them quiet 'till they should be informed, as likewise all Constantinople, of the change which would presently be effected. In this ingenious manner he engaged the odas pachis to go and put themselves at the head of their troops, and withdrew himself from their hands to repair instantly to the seraglio.

When the grand vizier arrived at the iron gate (it is thus they call that of the gardens), he was greatly surprised to find it open. The bostangis told him that it was by order of sultanefs Kiossem. The grand vizier instantly put a stop to this irregularity, great at all times, but particularly so in the night. Having sent for the bostangipachi, who commands the guard on the outside of the seraglio, he severely reproached him for having obeyed a woman, however high in dignity

He repairs to the seraglio. What measures he takes to remedy the disorder which he finds.

J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

and power she might be, in what endangered the safety of the emperor and the government of his haram. It was still worse, when, advancing towards the haram, Sciaus saw the doors likewise open, and perceived a great light in the apartment of sultaneſs Kioſem. He ſent for the kiſlar agafi, or chief of the black eunuchs; and though that officer has little or nothing to do with the apartments of the valid ſultaneſſes, who have a particular kiſlar agafi, nevertheless he ordered him to have the apartment of ſultaneſs Kioſem ſhut, retain her priſoner, and have all her eunuchs put in chains; for, though theſe demi-men are to obey the ſultaneſſes, the latter muſt obey them in their turn, when the ſhutting up of the haram, and the guarding of them from being ſeen, is in queſtion. The old valid had a new guard of eunuchs appointed for her. The grand vizier, who well knew the moments to be precious, inſtantly named a new boſtangi pachi, and ordered his troop to take their arms. He ordered the capiggiſ, baltagiſ, and icoglaſ, to be armed, whom they went to awake in the long galleries where they ſleep. There is an arſenal in the inner part of the ſeraglio, which contains, beſides ſome pieces of cannon, a quantity of muſkets, pikes, and ſwords. As ſoon as theſe diſciplined young men had been told that they were to riſe to defend the emperor's life, they ran to the arſenal, armed themſelves, and then drew up in the inner court

court of the seraglio, notwithstanding the night, which was illuminated by some torches only. J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

Meanwhile the grand vizier, having charged the felictar aga, or sword-bearer, which is the officer of most consideration of those that live in the seraglio, to see this vast edifice well shut, well guarded, and defended by pieces of artillery, as well on the side next the land, as that next the sea; wrote an order to the spahi agasi to have his corps mount their horses, and to all the viziers of the arched roof, to come immediately by sea to the seraglio point, and to take as much provision in their saicks as they could find in their houses. He made the capi aga, or chief of the white eunuchs, conduct him into the room where the emperor slept, and ordered the kislar agasi to go and awake the young valid sultaneß, and bring her veiled into her son's chamber, where she presently arrived. The murmur which resounded throughout the seraglio, notwithstanding the care of those who wished to stifle it; the light of the torches; the commotion of these new soldiers who were running to the posts assigned them; the fright painted on every face; and the imminent danger which all this indicated; terrified in an instant this young sultaneß, who, mixing bitter tears with the cries of this child, repeated continually: "O my son, we are dead!" The emperor of the East, whose most common titles are the thunder of God and the terror of the world, hid his head in his mother's bosom, and, squeez-

J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

ing the hand of the grand vizier, cried: "Save me, father, save me!" Sciaus encouraged both the child and mother as much as he possibly could; and he thought it necessary to place the young emperor on his throne, in order that he might be seen by those who were to defend him. The prince saw, as he proceeded towards the place where this throne was, the dead bodies of the boştangi pachi and Kiosem's kishlar, who had been strangled, the one for having left the seraglio iron gate open during the night, the other for having made resistance against the kishlar agasi of the haram, who had been sent to secure sultaness Kiosem. The sight of these two dead bodies increased the terror of the little prince. He was with difficulty made comprehend that these two perfidious officers had been sacrificed to his safety. On his arrival in the room where the throne was, he found several viziers, bashaws, and cadileskers there, whom Sciaus's order had brought to the seraglio. They were all assembled soon. The grand vizier then informed the divan of what he had seen and heard in the beginning of the night in Ortadjami mosque. He expatiated on the risk that he had run, and on the necessity of preventing the impending danger of the grand seignior himself. He stated the unreasonable and injustice of dethroning a child who could be reproached with nothing, in order to set up another child still younger. He demonstrated that it was the ministers of the young emperor

emperor that were aimed at, and that these victims, already proscribed, were those who composed the present assembly; that the chief of the conspiracy was Bectas the aga of the janissaries, who acted by the orders and policy of sultaneſs Kioſem, of whom he had continually ſpoke in Ortadjami moſque; and that the emperor's grandmother was burning with the deſire of ſeeing herſelf ſole valid ſultaneſs. The grand vizier gave an account of the diſorder in which he had found the ſeraglio; he added, that the ambitious Kioſem, not contented with uſurping the authority, would ſain free her ſex from that ſalutary retirement ſo much recommended by the law of Mahomet, and abſolutely indiſpenſable in order to live a ſubmiſſive, regular life; that the violation of the laws of the ſeraglio merited death, and that a plot againſt the emperor's perſon, his mother, and all his council, ſhould accelerate that puniſhment, as this conſpiracy would break out with the firſt rays of the ſun. As ſoon as Sciaus had done ſpeaking, a white eunuch, who had the place of maſter of the chamber, endeavoured to defend the conduct of Kioſem his protectreſs; but he had no ſooner opened his lips and ſpoke a few words, than there aroſe a general clamour. The icoglans, who guarded the inner door, murmured all together, *kill that traitor*, and the baſhaws made no attempt to prevent the tumult. Already had the baltagis liſted their battle axes, when the eunuch, falling precipitately on his knees;

J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

J.C. 1646.  
Heg. 1059.

knees, solicited time to remit his charge to the emperor. As soon as he had delivered the key of the secret treasure, and a particular seal with which the master of the chamber seals the secret dispatches of the sultan, the implacable baltagis cut this miserable being to pieces; whilst, kissing the vest of the emperor, he begged with tears permission to defend himself. The blood spirted up on the emperor, who, being greatly terrified, descended from his throne to take refuge in the arms of the grand vizier. As the icoglans cried continually that Kiossem should be put to death, some of them having perceived behind the gauze which covered the dangerous window a woman veiled, were persuaded that it could be no other than that haughty sultaneß who would dare appear, in a similar tumult, amidst so many men in arms; they cried to those that were on the outside: "Seize that guilty woman, since she comes of her own accord to throw herself into our hands." Immediately this terrified woman, forgetting all the laws of the seraglio, undrew the gauze curtain, unveiled herself, and, shewing her face all bathed with tears, exclaimed: "I am not Kiossem, but the real valid sultaneß, the mother of his highness." Then descending with precipitation, she squeezed through the crowd, and ran to embrace the knees of her son.

Meanwhile the day began to break; people came to say that the spahis and janissaries were fighting in the city, and that the latter complained

plained of treachery, because they had found the seraglio shut, contrary to their expectation. The cannon were heard firing from the top of the walls. The defenders of the young emperor redoubled their clamours to obtain the head of Kiossem. The grand vizier and all his colleagues were of opinion that it was no longer possible to save her from the punishment which she merited. The musti, though engaged in her faction, took care how he undertook her defence: the example of the master of the chamber had kept him from declaring himself 'till then. He could not refuse a fetfa so earnestly demanded of him by the grand vizier, the valid sultaneſs, and all the divan. They wrote, "What should  
 " be done to the grand-mother of the emperor,  
 " who has conspired against her grand-son and  
 " master?" The musti put under: "This wo-  
 " man should be put to death." The grand vizier immediately drew up the death warrant, which the emperor trembled when he signed. It condemned sultaneſs Kiossem to be strangled, but ordered, that the respect due to the mother of emperors should be paid her body; and that it should neither be injured by blows nor the sword. This warrant was given to the icoglans, which they raised over their heads as they proceeded in a troop towards the women's apartment. The black eunuchs, who guarded the doors, read this order on their knees, and consented to open to twenty icoglans only, the apartment

J.C. 1649.  
 Heg. 1059.

J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

ment in which Kiossem was. Though it was already broad day, it was exceedingly dark within, because all the windows were stopped up. The icoglans searched several rooms, without finding any one but some terrified slaves whom they permitted to escape. Their search was long, and would have been vain, if one of them had not persevered in searching a large press which appeared full of furniture. After having turned over every thing, he perceived the old sultaneſs hidden under ſome carpets; ſhe ſaid to him in a low voice: “Generous man, ſave my life, and “I will make your fortune.” But the Turk, having ſeized her by the heels, dragged her unmercifully out of the preſs. Kiossem got up and ſcattered about the room a quantity of ſequins which ſhe had in her pocket, hoping to find a moment to eſcape whiſt the icoglans ſhould be earneſtly engaged in picking up the money. But ſeveral of them having thrown her down, tore from her ears, hair, arms, and neck, diamonds and other ſtones of great value. Notwithſtanding the reſpect which they had been ordered to ſhew for the body of their maſter’s grand-mother, they ſtripped her of a cloak of ſable and all her rich clothes; and, having ſtrangled her with difficulty, becauſe none of them were accuſtomed to that cruel office, they dragged her dead body, ſcarcely covered with ſome rags, out of the haram to bury her.

Meanwhile



Meanwhile Bectas, the aga of the janissaries, who had trusted to the oaths which the grand vizier had made in Ortadjami mosque, and who had expected to find the seraglio open at break of day, and all the officers of the empire prepared by the prime minister to complete the revolution which he had begun, was overcome with indignation and surprise, when, the gates of the seraglio shut, the clamours which he heard within, and cannon fired against the troop which he commanded, informed him of what he called the treachery of Sciaus. Whilst he was preparing to unite all the odas which were marching at some distance from him, and to re-assemble his council, the seraglio gates were suddenly thrown open, and the standard of Mahomet, so respected by the Mussulmen, appeared surrounded by the efendis of the court; the bostangis, baltagis, and icoglans came out in order well armed, and filled the esplanade before the seraglio gate. We have said that there had already been several skirmishes between some squadrons of spahis and some odas of janissaries. Several of these last, out of the respect which every good Mussulman has for this standard, quitted Bectas to range themselves under the ensign of the prophet. The army of the seraglio having halted at some distance from the janissaries, whose ranks began to be confused; an icoglan, mounted on a superb horse, galloped towards them, crying: "By order of our invincible emperor, and our sacred musti, he,

VOL. III. U " who

J.C. 1649.  
 Heg. 1059.

J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

“ who shall refuse to range himself under the banner of Mahomet, shall be considered as an Infidel; his wife and children shall be enabled to seize on his property; and separate from him.” This horseman, on his arrival near the ranks, threw a paper to them which he held in his hand, and retired with the same celerity. This was a writing signed by the emperor, and sealed with the seals of the empire; it contained as follows: “ I have made Bectas, the aga of the janissaries, bashaw of Bosnia; Kara Chiavus captain bashaw; and Kulkiaia bashaw of Temeswar. I order them instantly to leave their posts in the janissaries, to prepare for their new appointments; and I appoint Kara Assan Ogli aga of the janissaries.” This declaration, read aloud, was a new pretext for the janissaries to range themselves under the banner of Mahomet. Bectas and his two lieutenants saw themselves almost deserted: they received with chagrin the compliments of those who feigned to take their promotion to governments as a sort of amnesty. All three comprehended that the design of the Porte was to take away their troops from them in order to sacrifice them with more certainty. They mutually reproached each other with the imprudence that they had committed the preceding night in letting the grand vizier escape their hands; but as their troop diminished every instant, and there were no longer any more means of resistance, they determined

Bad success  
of the con-  
spiracy.  
The au-  
thors of it  
are put to  
death.

mined to retire each to his house. As soon as <sup>J.C. 1649.</sup> <sup>Heg. 1059.</sup> Bectas arrived there, he disguised himself as an Albanian, and ran to hide himself in the cottage of a poor man. He was discovered there the next day, from whence he was dragged to the seraglio, and strangled. Kulkiaia collected all the riches that he had capable of being removed, and fled towards Albania. His treasure, with which he had loaded several mules, having discovered the road which he had taken, he was pursued. On this he abandoned his baggage and his mules, in hopes to conceal his foot-steps; but the richness of his clothes, and the gold which he scattered with too much profusion, made him suspected of being one of the Constantinople conspirators. A sangiac resolved to arrest him; his resistance confirmed the suspicion. Kulkiaia valiantly defended himself, and forced those, who made an attempt on his liberty, to take his life. As to Kara Chiavus, appointed captain bashaw, he was well convinced that the second place in the empire had never been seriously given him as a recompense for a conspiracy, whilst his accomplices were appointed to less important posts. He resolved to take refuge in a house which he had in Natolia, and to defend himself there with two hundred janissaries whom the many favors he had bestowed on them attached to his person. Four squadrons of spahis besieged him in this house, set fire to it, and strangled the master, whom they took living amidst

J.C. 1649.  
Heg. 1059.

amidst the flames. These three victims were almost the only ones thought necessary to be sacrificed to the young monarch's safety. Some private janissaries, more culpable than the rest, were thrown into the sea: after which the grand vizier published, that the grand seignior forgave those who, at first deceived by traitors, had since ranged themselves under the standard of Mahomet. The minister, who had so usefully served his master, by sparing, as much as he possibly could, the blood of his subjects, met with an end that he did not deserve. Some friends of those who had been put to death in the conspiracy, surprised Sciaus one evening when he had but few people about his person, and poniarded him. These assassins had gotten a bark ready, into which they had time to get and push off before the grand vizier's death was known.

The grand vizier perishes in his turn.

J.C. 1650,  
to 1657.  
Heg. 1060,  
to 1068.

Long troubles in the Ottoman empire.

The first years of Mahomet's minority were marked by all the disorders which might naturally be expected in a state that had not a master. Sir Paul Ricaut counts no less than six viziers deposed or strangled in the course of seven years; he has not thought it worth while to tell us all their names. Nothing is seen in this sort of anarchy but a confused picture of the many crimes which impunity authorises; bashaws who revolt; janissaries and spahis who slaughter one another for the spoils of the chiefs whom they have proscribed; and the Turkish fleet beaten several times by that of the Venetians, who knew not how

how to take advantage of such a favorable time to drive their enemies out of Candia. At length, amidst this multitude of events that succeeded one another so rapidly, and which were all much alike, the valid sultaneſs quietly brought up the young emperor in the ſeraglio, and ſent for her mother, who, though a Greek catholic, enjoyed at the court of her daughter all the advantages that a queen absolute and affectionate can procure her to whom ſhe owes her life. This fact is the more remarkable, as it is thus far without example in the Turkiſh hiſtory. The ſtate of ſlavery in which the women of the ſeraglio are brought up makes them abſolutely forget thoſe to whom they are indebted for their exiſtence, whom often they have never known. Moreover, the Chriſtian religion, which the mother of the valid ſultaneſs profeſſed, was an object that one ſhould have thought would have kept her for ever from the haram. All theſe obſtacles were ſurmounted by the will of the regent, who never ſhewed herſelf abſolute but on this ſingle occaſion. This young ſultaneſs had neither ſufficient talents nor experience to remedy the many diſorders that ſhe ſaw; they ended as they began. The ſoldiers, who were not paid, and the people, who were continually oppreſſed, murmured at ſo many rapines. Though the ſpahis and janiffaries became more and more enemies, they agreed in demanding the chaſtiſement of the grand vizier, of the caimacan, of the captain baſhaw, of the

J.C. 1650,  
to 1657.  
Heg. 1060,  
to 1068.

J.C. 1650,  
to 1657.Heg. 1060,  
to 1068.

means countenanced these rapines: the victims demanded by the malecontents were all abandoned to the bow-string. Twelve of the most considerable persons in the empire perished in this revolution. The event proved that all twelve were culpable. Immense sums were found in their possession when their property was confiscated, with which the troops were paid, and the other debts of the empire discharged. This good administration at the end of all these troubles was owing to the new grand vizier who was put at the head of affairs.

Kiuperli,  
become  
grand vi-  
zior, re-  
moves the  
spahis from  
Constanti-  
nople.

The valid sultaneſs, in concert with the viziers of the arched roof, choſe the eldeſt of them to fill this important poſt. The old Mehemet Kiuperli, amidſt the diſorders which had troubled the empire, had paſſed through all the military degrees, without enriching himſelf or engaging in any faction. He had always been beloved and reſpected by the malecontents, as well as by thoſe that remained faithful to their maſter. Kiuperli, at eighty years old, preſerved a ſound judgment, a firm mind, and a perfect knowledge of mankind. He applied himſelf to the eſta bliſhing of peace at home, and the rendering of the arms of the empire proſperous. Thoſe, who had perſuaded the valid ſultaneſs to chooſe Kiuperli, were principally the ſeliſtar aga or ſword-bearer, who had much credit with her, and the kiſlar agafi, who had advantageouſly ſerved her in the laſt revolution.

lution. These two courtiers thought, that a minister arrived at an extreme old age, and who had always affected great simplicity of manners, would govern as they would please to have him, and would be only a tool in their hands: Some historians accuse Kiuperli of having made use of the same artifice that pope Sixtus V. did to obtain the tiara: they say that the favorites of the valid sultans, and she herself, purposed to divide the government between them, which a feeble old man would be incapable of discharging. But they presently found, by the authority which the new vizier assumed over the soldiery, that it was safest for them to conciliate favor of this minister, whom they had before considered as the creature of their own raising. The first act of Kiuperli's power was to separate the spahis and janissaries. These two corps together could only keep alive discord in Constantinople, perpetuate the want of discipline, and cause the eastern throne to be in continual jeopardy. The grand vizier conducted himself with as much prudence as firmness; he sent for the chiefs of the spahis, and made them sensible that it was not only repugnant to public tranquility, for their troops to continue at Constantinople, but very disadvantageous for the officers and spahis, as the former, obliged to live at a distance from their timars, did not receive any thing like the profits that belonged to them, and the latter lived with difficulty on a small sum in the capital of an empire where affluence renders every thing much dearer

J.C. 1650,  
to 1657.  
Heg. 1060,  
to 1068.

J.C. 1650, dearer than any where else. Kiuperli dispersed  
to 1657.  
Heg. 1060, all the odas of spahis over the different provinces,  
to 1068.

observing to send each chief as near as possible to his timars. The desire of preserving these timars, and the hope of obtaining new ones, rendered these soldiers more docile, and made peaceable citizens of those who 'till then had been only factious ringleaders.

State of the  
Candian  
war.

The number of disorders that had happened prior to the ministry of Kiuperli, had prevented the war from being carried on with vigour either by land or sea. The Venetians, vanquishers in Bosnia, had driven the Turks back as far as Bag-nialack, the capital of that province. The misunderstanding between the chiefs had prevented them from driving the Ottomans out of the isle of Candia. But the latter, always masters of Canea and Retimo, possessed no other conquest in that island. Houffain bashaw, who commanded there for them, had received no reinforcement for more than four years. The Venetian fleet, having constantly occupied the passage of the Dardanelles in all seasons when the sea was navigable, had several times dispersed or taken transports carrying troops to Candia. At length the new captain bashaw, Mulei Mustapha had the address to get seventeen thousand men passed in several galleys and galeasses, and he conducted this succour to the port of Canea, where Houffain bashaw, with this reinforcement, and the troops which he drew from Canea and Retimo, com-  
posed



posed an army of more than forty thousand men, with which he laid siege to Candia. Foscolo, who commanded for the Venetians throughout the island, and who had fixed his residence in the capital, would not leave it. The Turks had already been forced to raise the siege. The Venetian general, assisted by the advice and bravery of sixty knights of Malta, who were come to join him in Candia with a succour of six hundred men, made a most vigorous resistance. He opposed the inconsiderate valour of the Turks with much prudence and great art; and after having destroyed more than half their army, by mines, against which the Ottomans were scarcely ever guarded, and by ruining their works, which were neither solid, nor at a sufficient distance from the batteries, Housfain bashaw was obliged to raise the siege, lest he should not preserve troops enough for the defence of the country which he was in possession of. Meanwhile Mocenigo, the admiral of the republic, after having beaten the Ottoman fleet, entered the isles of Tenedos and Lemnos, which, though small, are the most fertile in the Archipelago.

These misfortunes gave the Venetians hopes of an approaching peace. Mr. Lahaye, the French ambassador at the Porte, received orders from his court to interpose in this negotiation, and to carry such messages to the grand vizier as he should be desired to, either by the imprisoned ambassador, or the senate. Küperli, who

Premier  
overtures  
for peace.  
Taking of  
Tenedos &  
Lemnos.

J.C. 1650,  
to 1657.  
Heg. 1060,  
to 1068.

was not to be discouraged by the ill success of the Ottoman arms, would hear of no accommodation, unless the Venetians surrendered the isle of Candia without reserve. The Turks were thought to be without resources; but that power has very considerable ones. Its extent, the fertility of almost all the soil, and its commerce with Europe and Africa, constantly furnish it with money and men, and the Turks have been often seen spring up again from their ashes. Kiuperli, who, in the few months that he had been minister, had seen a considerable fleet beaten and dispersed in the Dardanelles, found means to provide another in the course of the same year. A fresh naval engagement, fought near the straits of the Dardanelles, would again have proved fatal to the Turks, who lost several vessels, if admiral Mocenigo, one of the greatest seamen that has appeared in Europe, had not been killed by a cannon ball. This loss, irreparable for the Venetians, opened all the passages which the Turks wanted to recover. Tenedos was presently retaken; but Lemnos, the coasts of which were more difficult of access, held out two months. The ramparts beaten down and the magazines emptied, at length forced the Venetians to surrender: the garrison of Lemnos, considerably diminished, obtained vessels to carry them to Candia.

J.C. 1658.  
Heg. 1068.

The young emperor having at length attained his fourteenth year, Kiuperli thought it time to shew him to the troops, not only to inspire them with

with the respect that they owed to their master, but to divert this prince from that effeminate, idle life, which had proved so fatal to his predecessors. The grand vizier had no thoughts of carrying his master to Candia; the Ottoman fleets were too unfortunate for the emperor of the East to be exposed to the risk of a naval engagement. The old minister was willing to have this prince make his first campaign in Dalmatia, in order that he might be always near his frontiers. Kiuperli appointed the rendezvous of the troops at Adrianople, where the emperor repaired in the beginning of the year 1658. The grand vizier had sent for all the timarians of Asia, besides the janissaries that were not serving in Candia, and all the asaps dispersed over Romania, as much because he thought it improper for the emperor to march without being attended by a numerous army, as because he had heard some insurrections rumoured which he hoped to prevent by employing the soldiers, who were too much given to revolt. The march of Mahomet IV. towards Adrianople was made with all the pomp which the Ottomans never fail of displaying, whether in time of adversity or prosperity. They had had no other success than retaking Tenedos and Lemnos, lost a short time before, and the conquest of which had cost them almost two fleets. For thirteen years past they had made no other conquest in Candia than Retimo and Canea; the Venetians kept all the rest of the island. Nevertheless, Kiuperli offered

J.C. 1658.  
Heg 1068.

Kiuperli carries the emperor to Adrianople, the rendezvous of the army.

J.C. 1698.  
Heg. 1068.

{

The Venetian ambassador is dragged prisoner thither.

peace to this republic, provided they would give up the isle of Candia and one part of Dalmatia, which the emperor had attacked. The Venetian ambassador had been dragged prisoner to Adrianople, to see the powerful army assembling under the ramparts of the second city in the empire; and they haughtily offered him to spare the republic, if the Venetians would give up what they were on the point of wresting from them and pay the expences of the war. The ambassador was not in a situation to attend to the grand vizier's proposals. The cruelty of the Turks, and the bad treatment which he had experienced in his captivity, had so afflicted this minister, that he had made an attempt on his own life. Though he had been watched and prevented from executing this fatal design, a languor remained on him which affected his reason. His secretary negotiated in the name of the ambassador; for no noble Venetian had been solicitous to come and lay himself at the mercy of these barbarians. Capello was not the only one who had to complain of the violation of the law of nations.

Insult offered the French ambassador: how repaired.

Mr. Lahaye, the French ambassador, who, as we have said, had been ordered by Lewis XIV. to negotiate a peace between Venice and the Turks, had himself corresponded with the republic ever since the infirmities of the noble Capello had rendered him incapable of attending to any kind of business. The propositions of the Turks were so unreasonable, that it was impossible

sible for the French minister to approve them. J.C. 1658.  
Heg. 1068.  
Mr. Lahaye represented to the Venetians that they had every thing to expect from the intercession of Lewis XIV. and that his master would not negotiate a disadvantageous peace for the Christians. All the dispatches of the French ambassador, as well as the answers from Venice, were written in a cypher agreed on. One of Mr. Lahaye's packets was treacherously intercepted, and carried to Adrianople, instead of being put on board a merchant-man. As soon as the grand vizier saw these incomprehensible cyphers, addressed to one of the senators of Venice of the privy council, he conceived a violent suspicion, and dispatched a messenger to Mr. Lahaye, for him to come immediately to Adrianople, because the Porte had secrets of great importance to communicate to him. The French ambassador was at that time obliged to keep his bed through a fit of the gout. He sent his son to Adrianople, who, as well as himself, was intrusted with the secrets of the embassy, and had for several years past assisted him in his mission. Mr. Vantelet (that was the name of the ambassador's son) was accompanied by his father's first secretary, a precaution that he would never have taken had he mistrusted what was going to be required of him. As soon as he arrived, the grand vizier arrogantly told him that he must instantly decypher the dispatch which he shewed him from his father to the republic of Venice. Mr. Vantelet replied as haughtily,

LC. 1658.  
Reg. 1068.

haughtily, that he had no orders to receive from the prime minister of the Porte, and that the secrets of the king of France ought not to be discovered. Kiuperli, irritated, replied, that every one who had intelligence with the enemies of his master, should be treated as an enemy. He again pressed Mr. Vantelet to decypher the dispatches. The latter thought to evade it, by saying that he had not the cypher; but the grand vizier ordered the secretary of the French embassy to be brought in, who had accompanied his master's son as far as the antechamber. As soon as Mr. Vantelet saw him enter, he forbade him aloud to execute what was going to be required of him. The druggerman of the Porte translated to Kiuperli the order which had just been given. The grand vizier, no longer able to contain himself, commanded the chiaus that had introduced Mr. Vantelet, to seize him and drag him instantly to a dungeon; which they executed with so much brutality, that they broke one of his teeth. Mr. Vantelet was certainly not an ambassador, but he executed the functions of it for the moment, and was under the protection of his master. The secretary, seeing this treatment, promised to decypher the dispatch, if they would let him have it; but he had no sooner gotten it into his hands, than, after having written what he thought fit between the lines, he altered all the cyphers, lest the truth should be discovered by able decyphers. The druggerman having again reported

ported what he considered as a very treacherous act, the grand vizier ordered the secretary to be put into another dungeon, equally obscure with that wherein they had shut up Mr. Vantelet. Two days after, he sent them both back to Constantinople, under a strong guard, with orders to the caimacan, who commanded in the capital, to block up the French palace, and retain the ambassador and all his people prisoners there, permitting only the necessaries of life to be carried to them. Mr. Lahaye lost not a moment to give an account of this insult to the court of France. Lewis XIV. who could not believe that such an outrage would have been committed without great faults' having been done by those who represented him at the Porte, ordered Mr. Blondel, at that time his minister at Berlin, to go to Turkey in the same quality, first to examine into the conduct of the ambassador and his son, and afterward to demand vengeance for the insult which they had received. Mr. Blondel, after having resided a short time at Constantinople, went to Adrianople where the court was. When he had obtained an audience of the grand vizier, which he had been let solicit a long time, and in which Kiuperli, seated on a sofa, caused only a stool to be given Mr. Blondel, this minister asked him at first if he were the French ambassador sent to succeed him who had betrayed his trust, and where were his credentials. Mr. Blondel replied to the grand vizier, presenting them to him,

J.C. 1658.  
Heg. 1068.

J.C. 1658.  
Heg. 1068.

him, that he was not an ambassador, because the king his master would not have two at the Porte, and that he had not recalled Mr. Lahaye; that he, Mr. Blondel, a minister from France, was charged with demanding satisfaction for the indign treatment which the ambassador's son, the ambassador himself, and all his household had received, a treatment injurious to the crown of France, let the ambassador be ever so wrong. Mr. Blondel added that he had a letter from Lewis XIV. which he was to deliver to his highness. The grand vizier replied, that none but the ambassadors of crowned heads were admitted to the honor of speaking to the great and invincible emperor of the East; that he, Blondel, not being invested with that character, could not expect that signal favor; that besides, it would be easy to prove that the French ambassador had been guilty of a heinous piece of treachery, in writing to an enemy power, under the disguise of cyphers, things which neither he, nor his son, nor even the secretary of the embassy, was willing that the ministers of the Porte should know. Mr. Blondel replied in vain that the duty of a mediator, such as the French ambassador was, between the empire of Constantinople and the republic of Venice, obliged him to keep the secrets of the belligerent powers, so that he ought not to disclose to the senate of Venice every thing the minister of the Porte might intrust to him, nor consequently to the minister of the Porte all the overtures



overtures made him by the senate of Venice; J.C. 1658.  
Heg. 1068.  
 that as to the rest, the fault of an ambassador, in case he had committed one, should never expose him to be chastised by the power to which he was sent, but only by his master; that if Mr. Lahaye had behaved amiss (which did not appear in any manner), the grand seignior's power extended no further than to desire the king of France to recall his ambassador. Your master then must recall his minister, replied Kiuperli, for most certainly we will treat no more with him. Mr. Blondel having insisted on seeing the grand seignior, in order to deliver him Lewis XIV.'s letter, Kiuperli repeated that he should not see him, and that, if he would have his master's letter reach his highness, he must give it to him. As Lewis XIV. expressly demanded in this letter, that the grand vizier, who had violated the law of nations, should not only be deposed, but even punished with death, Mr. Blondel did not think it proper to deliver it to Kiuperli whose violence he knew. Having taken leave of the prime minister, he artfully sounded the other great officers of the empire, to know if Kiuperli were so absolute, that neither the emperor nor the valid sultans could be approached but by him. But, under a monarch of fourteen years old, whose mother had the good sense to be sensible of her profound incapacity for government, an active prime minister, courageous and clear sighted, could not be expected to have rivals. All the

J.C. 1658.  
Heg. 1068.

officers, even the viziers, whom Mr. Blondel would fain try, spoke to him of Kiuperli with that sort of respect which, among a despotic people, partakes more of fear than admiration. On the report which he made the court of France, Mr. Lahaye received orders to return, and to leave the management of affairs to a French merchant. This order, which the grand vizier without doubt had not expected, obliged him, if not to change conduct, at least to endeavour to give Lewis XIV. some sort of satisfaction. He would by no means have France discontinue keeping an ambassador at the Porte, as the Musulmen look upon the ministers of the Christian powers, when they have this respectable appointment, as much in the light of hostages as ambassadors. Moreover, it was not the policy of the Porte to quarrel with France, at that time the almost necessary enemy of the house of Austria, with which the Turks were so often at war. The grand vizier resolved to send a chiau to France, with the title of minister, as Mr. Blondel had had, who carried letters from the grand seignior and grand vizier, in which they claimed the ancient alliance between the two crowns, and expressed the sincere desire which his highness had to continue on good terms with the emperor of the French. These letters repeated the subjects of complaint which the Porte had had against Mr. Vantelet and Mr. Lahaye his father, and solicited another ambassador.

The

The Turks, not choosing to let Mr. Lahaye leave Constantinople 'till he should be relieved by a minister in the same quality, had recourse to an expedient that again wounded the law of nations, but which they had employed several times against the ambassadors of crowned heads; this was to refuse to let him sail out of the port 'till his debts were paid, though the merchants of his nation offered to become bound for him. Every one knows that ambassadors are not to be arrested under any pretence whatsoever by the powers to which they are sent; but the Turks have never paid any attention to this public law.

The Ottoman minister was received in France exactly as Mr. Blondel had been at Adrianople; that is to say, he did not see the king, and that Mr. Delionne, secretary of state for foreign affairs, affecting the same superiority over him, as the grand vizier Kiuperli had shewn Mr. Blondel, gave him only a stool at his audience, whilst he himself sat in an elbow chair. The Turkish envoy endeavoured to excuse the grand vizier's conduct, averring that Kiuperli had information that Mr. Lahaye was endeavouring to raise up some of the Italian powers against the Porte; that the bad treatment likewise, which Mr. Vanetelet had received, was only a chastisement for several indiscreet expressions, which, coming from a man without any public character, might well pass for insolence, when addressed to the prime minister of a great monarch. In fine, the

J.C. 1658.  
Heg. 1068.

Turk insinuated, that the party being judge in this cause, the punishment of Kiuperli could not be obtained but from Kiuperli himself, who had the whole authority. Lewis XIV. had other things to do in Europe than to involve himself in a war with the Turks: besides, he was unwilling to lose the commerce of the East, and he knew how advantageous it would be to have the Ottomans make a diversion, by attacking the house of Austria in Hungary, when he himself should be at war with that power. In short, his policy induced him to find Mr. Lahaye culpable, and to recall him; but the French court thought it right to appoint this same Mr. Vantelet ambassador, the son of Mr. Lahaye, who had been so cruelly treated by the Turks. Kiuperli consented to receive him in the place of his father. Thus ended this quarrel, which was like to become serious. We have gone a little out of the order of time in order to follow up all the circumstances.

J.C. 1659.  
Heg. 1069,  
& 1070.

Revolt of  
the bashaw  
of Aleppo,  
and on  
what oc-  
casion.

The too great severity of old Kiuperli excited many troubles. Several months after the emperor's going to Adrianople, the grand vizier, under pretence that the march of the troops coming from Aleppo had been too slow and expensive, had their commander put to death. This officer was the brother-in-law and friend of Ibrahim, bashaw of Aleppo, who thought that the only way to ruin Kiuperli was to pull down from the throne the monarch in whose name this grand vizier exercised such an absolute authority.

Ibrahim

Ibrahim had many friends in Asia; he pretended that a son of Amurath IV. proscribed by the late emperor, had been hidden by his mother and concealed from the search of the executioners; and a young man of an engaging figure, whom he shewed the people, was by many believed to be their emperor. This pretended prince, already twenty years old, promised to fill the throne sooner and with more sagacity than a child. The bashaw Ibrahim undertook this revolution, without knowing how much Kiuperli was respected by the troops. The love of novelty procured him soldiers; in less than two months the rebel advanced into Asia at the head of forty thousand men. It was reported that the sopher was highly pleased with the fable which the bashaw of Aleppo had given out; and that this prince, jealous of the greatness of the Ottomans, was happy to see two rivals dispute with one another the throne of Constantinople. Kiuperli, who conceived of how much consequence it was that no time should be lost, prevailed on his master to march against these rebels, before he went to attack the enemy beyond the limits of the empire. The army intended against Dalmatia retook the road to Constantinople. Ibrahim bashaw had already sent parties as far as Scutari in the name of the emperor Bajazet, son of Amurath IV. The particulars of the birth of this pretended prince, of his leaving the seraglio, of the care that had been taken of his infancy, and of the precautions

J.C. 1659.  
Heg. 1069,  
& 1070.

He raises  
up an im-  
postor to  
dispute the  
throne  
with Ma-  
homet IV.

J.C. 1659.  
Heg. 1069,  
& 1070.

Origin of  
the im-  
postor.

He assumes  
the marks  
of royalty.

tions made use of to convince people that he was the same, gained credit; and every day procured him subjects. The sage Kiuperli neglected nothing to destroy this illusion: he sent several eunuchs into Asia, who had served in the Seraglio under Amurath IV.; they attested on oath that the only male child that this emperor had had, died almost as soon as it was born. Kiuperli found means likewise to discover the particulars of the birth and parentage of this man who, they said, was the lawful heir to the eastern throne. This phantom of a monarch was the son of a potter of the town of Rica in Ibrahim's bashawcy. Ambition had driven him very early from his father's shop: he had learned to read and write of an iman of Aleppo, and had applied himself to the study of the Alcoran with the hopes of becoming an effendi. The grand vizier, by dint of application and money, discovered the relations of this false prince, and the people who were acquainted with the different adventures of his life. The proofs of this imposture which Kiuperli published, diverted a number of Musulmen from the party of Bajazet, or rather that of Ibrahim; but the bashaw of Aleppo constantly supported his sultan, and found means to gain over whole bodies of spahis, by distributing to them the timars of his province and of the places which he had made himself master of. The tough or royal standard was carried before Bajazet; he was surrounded, like the emperors, by great officers

cers of the empire: Ibrahim was, by a very just title, his grand vizier. The iman, with whom Bajazet had been brought up, was made grand musti. But, though his mother was still living, Ibrahim had not thought proper to give her the title of valid sultaness. This woman passed for the sultan's nurse only. The grand vizier Kiuperli having sent a chiau to Ibrahim to summon him to return to his obedience, and to give over the criminal project of setting up an emperor, the false vizier would have this chiau treated as an ambassador to the court of him whom he called his master. He had him admitted to an audience of the sultan; and when he was at the foot of the throne, Bajazet declared to this chiau, that Mahomet must resign him the sceptre which he unjustly retained; that one part of his subjects was already returned to their obedience, and that his arms would soon bring under his subjection what he wanted of the patrimony of his forefathers. To all this pomp Ibrahim added letters to the grand vizier Kiuperli, and to Mahomet himself, feigning to lament the calamities that he foresaw, and exhorting them both to spare their own lives and the blood which was ready to be spilt. Kiuperli perceived that it was useless to negotiate any longer. He marched the army, which was already arrived in Asia, towards Smyrna, and advised the grand seignior to affect great affability with the troops, as it might prove very useful to him in the contest. The army of the usurper advanced

J.C. 1659  
 Heg. 1069  
 & 1070

J.C. 1659.  
Heg. 1069,  
& 1070.

advanced rapidly. The two mustis reciprocally issued fetfas against each other's prince and all his partisans, and the grand viziers threatened to sack all the towns that would not acknowledge their master. They soon prepared to make use of more destructive weapons. Kiuperli, who had seen a number of deserters from the army of Bajazet join the standard of their lawful master, thought at first the forces of the usurper much less than they really were. He sent on ten thousand men before to exterminate the rebels entirely, as he said. This corps was beaten by a superior army. The grand vizier, taught by this repulse, resolved to march against Bajazet with his whole army; and, taking advantage of the ardour of both parties, gave battle in presence of the young emperor Mahomet, to these rash men, who had the presumption to wait for an army ten times stronger than their own. Bajazet and Ibrahim being defeated, as they should have expected, though their soldiers shewed much valour, fled to Alexandria in order to collect the broken remains of their party. Kiuperli regretted the time that he was losing, and the Mussulman blood which he was constrained to shed. He resolved to endeavour to put an end to this revolt by imposing on the rebels. He sent Morteza bashaw to Alexandria to make proposals to Ibrahim. Kiuperli's emissary first gained over an oda of spahis, encamped at some distance from Alexandria. This troop, in appearance in the service of the rebel, promised

He beats  
Mahomet's  
troops.

He is  
beaten in  
his turn,  
and flees to  
Alexan-  
dria with  
his bashaw.

How Kiuperli  
dis-  
poses the  
remains of  
this party.  
He pu-  
nishes Ba-  
jazet and  
Ibrahim.



promised to deliver him up, on condition of a pardon for themselves from the lawful emperor. Morteza, having dispatched a chiau to Ibrahim, signified to him, that, being sent with advantageous propositions for his master and him, he would not enter the city, but that he would meet him at the head of seventeen men, which composed his whole escort. The false grand vizier, whose fortune was daily growing worse, thought it would be imprudent to refuse a peace which would save the life of his phantom of a sultan, and furnish him perhaps with the means of repairing his losses, and of dismembering, in a more favorable time, the patrimony of the Ottomans. He repaired without mistrust to the appointed place, with as many men as Morteza had written him he should have, and almost without arms. The conference was no sooner begun in a shepherd's hut, where the two bashaws had alighted, than it was surrounded by more than two hundred horse. The small escort of the bashaw of Aleppo was loaded with irons without having made any resistance. Ibrahim, who had drawn his sword, chose rather to sell his life dearly than to present his neck to the fatal bow-string; he fell, covered with wounds, on the dead bodies of several spahis. As soon as Ibrahim was dead, Morteza sent a manifesto, signed by sultan Mahomet and the grand vizier Kiuperli, to the city of Alexandria. This declaration contained all the proofs of Bajazet's imposition: he pro-

J.C. 1659.  
Heg. 1069,  
& 1070.

J.C. 1659.  
Heg. 1069,  
& 1070.

misfed a recompense to those who should deliver him the impostor, and a general amnesty to all the subjects of the lawful sultan who should abandon the party of Bajazet. The Ottoman army, which was advancing towards Alexandria, gave great weight to the promises and menaces of Mahomet. As Morteza was preparing to begin the siege, the gates were suddenly thrown open. Bajazet's remaining troops advanced towards Mahomet's general without any other arms than white sticks, and delivered up this impostor, whom they had regarded as their master, the instrument and victim of the ambition of the bashaw of Aleppo. His head was cut off and carried to Constantinople, as likewise that of his grand vizier; and the people expressed great joy at seeing an end to a revolution, the beginning of which had given reason to fear a long and bloody intestine war. There still continued some troubles in Natolia during the remainder of the year 1659; but the vizier found means to extinguish these sparks of rebellion with much prudence and activity, always mixing firmness with clemency, and sparing human blood without neglecting to make the examples necessary for the maintenance of good order and public authority.

J.C. 1660.  
Heg. 1071.

This internal peace was very necessary for an empire that had two powerful enemies at once. Not only the republic of Venice covered the sea with its vessels, to prevent succours from being sent to Candia, where Hufain bashaw was supporting

porting with a few troops the honor of his mas-  
 ter's arms; but the grand seignior had likewise;  
 in the person of George Ragotzki, prince of  
 Transylvania, a vassal who was secretly in alliance  
 with the enemies of the Porte, and threatened to  
 shake off all dependance. This George Ra-  
 gotzki, an ambitious, active prince, had always  
 been desirous of being elected king of Poland.  
 He had seen with pain John Casimir obtain that  
 crown; and, since this competitor had possessed  
 it, he had prevailed on him to consent that he,  
 Ragotzki, should be elected his successor. The  
 republic, jealous of their right of election, refused  
 to anticipate the exercise of it, lest, from their  
 kings' accustoming themselves to protect in their  
 life time those whom they wished to reign after  
 their death, the throne of Poland should insensibly  
 become hereditary. The insurmountable diffi-  
 culties which Ragotzki met with incensed him  
 so much against the Poles, that he became their  
 greatest enemy. He entered into an alliance  
 with Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, who had  
 already taken several Polish provinces, and he  
 furnished him with a succour of thirty thousand  
 Transylvanians, Walachians, or Moldavians; for  
 the two waywodes of Walachia and Moldavia  
 were closely allied by interest to Ragotzki.  
 These news gave great umbrage to the Turks.  
 Kiuperli, who began to fear the power of the  
 Swedes, since Charles Gustavus was at their head,  
 sent orders to the vassals of the empire, for them

J.C. 1660.  
 Heg. 1071.  
 Troubles  
 in Tran-  
 sylvania.  
 Revolt of  
 Ragotzki.

J.C. 1660.  
Heg. 1072

to withdraw their troops, and observe the alliance that was between Poland and the grand seignior. The Walachians and Moldavians obeyed; but the haughty Transylvanian replied, that it was very possible for him to have friends or enemies independently of the Turks, and that his interest required his continuing in alliance with Sweden. He conducted his troops into Podolia ravaging and sacking every thing that opposed his passage. Leopold, emperor of the West, took part with the Poles against Charles Gustavus, and the Porte ordered the Tartars to attack Ragotzki, who was no longer considered but as a rebel. The ally of Charles Gustavus was beaten near Sandomir by the khan of the Tartars. On his return into his dominions, he found letters from Mahomet IV. addressed to the towns of Transylvania, which forbade them any longer to acknowledge Ragotzki for their prince, enjoining them on the contrary to elect immediately another sovereign, under the authority and favor of the Porte. The Transylvanians, as we have said, had been beaten and dispersed; they did not dare oppose the will of the conqueror. The states of Transylvania elected for master a gentleman called Francis Redai, who loved repose and a private life, as much as Ragotzki did war. But whilst Redai, the new prince of Transylvania, was living amidst his subjects as the most private among them, Ragotzki was strengthening his party and levying soldiers in

Tran-

Transylvania. Kiuperli, who had his eyes every where, soon penetrated the designs of the deposed prince. He ordered the bashaw of Buda to march with what troops he could collect from the different garrisons, and demand Janova of the Transylvanians, the strongest of their places, as a security for their conduct, and a pledge of their fidelity. This act of hostility made Ragotzki throw off the mask. The commons of Transylvania assembled to hear the orders of the Porte. They replied, not by the mouth of Redai, but by that of Ragotzki, who resumed the sovereign authority, without the menaces of the Turks seeming to have any influence on their suffrages, that the Ottoman emperor was their sovereign paramount, only to protect them, and not to be their destroyer, and that he had no right to invade their country. On this, Ali bashaw (that was the name of the governor of Buda) laid siege to Waradin, which he took by assault in a few days; but Ragotzki having advanced against him at the head of ten thousand men, beat an army of more than double the number.

This success stirred up the valour of the old grand vizier, who was preparing to conduct in person very considerable forces into Transylvania, when death overtook him at Adrianople, where he had persuaded his master to fix his residence. In fact, the deposition and murder of the emperor Ibrahim, and the frequent troubles in the first years of the minority of Mahomet IV. had convinced

J.C. 1660  
Heg. 1071.

J.C. 1661.  
Heg. 1072.

Death of  
the grand  
vizier Kju-  
perli.

J.C. 1661.  
Heg. 1072.

vinced old Mehemet Kiuperli, that it would be prudent not to expose the emperor to revolutions, which could not be always foreseen. The soldiery was less numerous at Adrianople, and consequently much more submissive: moreover, the grand seignior's seraglio is better fortified there than at Constantinople, and much more secure against a mutiny. Whenever the young emperor was in his capital for any time, the grand vizier would always persuade him to ride about a good deal, under pretence of taking the diversion of the chase, during which he would be out of the way of the janissaries. Mahomet, accustomed himself so much to this exercise, that he could not do without it; which afterward proved very injurious to the people that lived near his residence; for the manner of the Ottoman princes' hunting consists in bush-beatings which take up sometimes three or four and twenty miles of country. Thirty or forty thousand men are taken from their families and the cultivation of the land, to be employed in driving the game towards the emperor, without the prince's considering himself obliged to make these wretches the least amends, whom he looks upon more like a portion of his domain than subjects.

But to return to Kiuperli, this minister, having been attacked by a disorder, which, at eighty six years of age, after a number of toils of every kind, convinced him that it would prove fatal, wished to transmit the place of grand vizier to a  
son.

son that he had, who had great talents and activity. There was not a single precedent in the eastern empire, of a son's succeeding his father as grand vizier. He, whom Kiuperli intended for the first place in this great empire, was but thirty two years of age, and was only a bashaw of two tails, which did not make him vizier of the arched roof. But the dying minister had so many claims on the gratitude of the young emperor Mahomet, that he made no difficulty of soliciting the seals for him of his subjects whom he believed most worthy of them. Kiuperli accompanied this request with several pieces of advice which he gave the young prince, on the necessity of punctually paying his troops, keeping them always dispersed, and so managing his expences that he should always have enough in his treasury to supply the exigencies of war, or other unforeseen events. The young prince was already capable of perceiving how much Kiuperli had been serviceable to his authority. The grand vizier's son had had the talent of pleasing his master. As soon as this faithful servant was dead, Mahomet IV. made Achmet Kiuperli grand vizier, as much through choice as gratitude. All those, who fancied that they had pretensions to this eminent post, and all their creatures, appeared greatly chagrined at this unprecedented proceeding. It was thought for some time that the promotion of Achmet would excite a revolt; but the new grand vizier, already as absolute as his

J.C. 1661.  
Heg. 1072.

His son  
succeeded  
him.

J.C. 1661. his father had been, attacked without hesitation  
 Heg. 1072. those who seemed to menace him. Several bashaws of the bench or viziers of the arched roof, whose complaints had reached the grand vizier, were deposed and banished to the different islands of the Archipelago. The kiaia beg, or lieutenant of the aga of the janissaries, talked loudly of revenging those of the proscribed bashaws for whom he had an affection. Agreeably to the privileges of his place, he could neither be put to death nor deposed, without the consent of the odas pachis. This officer received a commission from the grand seignior, which appointed him bashaw of Damascus; he immediately comprehended that his death was resolved on. His embarrassment was the greater, because the refusal of a place is not permitted, and he remembered an old proverb which says, that *a kiaia beg out of place is like a fish out of water*. In this extremity, he resolved to go and have an explanation with the grand vizier, remembering that the father of this minister, notwithstanding his great severity, had always been candid and a strict observer of his word. The kiaia beg, after having thanked Kiuperli for the government of Damascus, acknowledged to him, that he could not think he had meant to recompense a man who had not sought to dissemble his discontent. "If your intention of making me quit my place of kiaia beg", added he, "be only to take my life, I can find means to frustrate your design. How-  
 ever,



“ever, I would rather throw myself on the can- J.C. 1661.  
 “dour of him whom I believe my enemy, but of Heg. 1072.  
 “whom I know the uprightness. I am come to  
 “propose to you to give up both the place of  
 “kiaia beg and the government of Damascus,  
 “provided you will give me your word not to  
 “make any attempt either on my liberty or life,  
 “and that you will permit me to end my days in  
 “a timar which shall be left me.” This frank-  
 ness pleased the grand vizier. He promised this  
 kiaia beg all that he had asked, and faithfully kept  
 his word. By this mixture of lenity and severity,  
 Kiuperli became soon as much respected as his  
 father had been. The valid sultanness, who was  
 not consulted as much as she wished, presently  
 grew jealous of Kiuperli’s authority. She made  
 several attempts to set her son against him; but  
 was soon obliged to conciliate the favor of this  
 minister of whom she had declared herself the en-  
 emy. A Turkish historian assures us, that her on-  
 ly reason for giving up the project which she had  
 conceived against Kiuperli was, because she was  
 convinced that the grand vizier’s mother was a  
 forcerefs, and that her magical power over the  
 mind of the grand seignior was more powerful  
 than all human efforts.\*

VOL. III.

A a

Kiuperli’s

\* Those, who may be astonished at the superstitious weakness of the  
 Turkish women, should remember that in France, in a time not very distant  
 from that which we are speaking of, marshals Dancre was asked by the  
 judges, by what magic charm she had fascinated the mind of the queen  
 regent.

J.C. 1662.  
Heg. 1079.

Death of  
Ragotzki.

Several  
waywodes  
are named  
in Tran-  
sylvania by  
the empe-  
rors of the  
East and  
West.

Kiuperli's attention to government would not permit him to take the command of the troops. The first year of his ministry, he sent to Transylvania the forces which his father had proposed to conduct thither himself. Ali, bashaw of Buda, had the glory of vanquishing prince Ragotzki, in his turn, near Waradin, who had vanquished him the preceding year: this brave general died, two days after the battle, of the wounds which he had received. Leopold, emperor of the West, who considered this province as a barrier between the Turks and him, resolved to sustain the party which Ragotzki had had there. He declared Kemini waywode, and he was proclaimed by a great many states. The Turks nominated Abaffi, a Hungarian gentleman, and they sent forces to support him. This war, which became more and more violent, caused that of Candia to be neglected for a time. A defeat which happened in Transylvania, in which the waywode Kemini, who had been nominated by the emperor Leopold, was killed, induced the Turks to usurp this state. Abaffi, to whom they had given it, soon perceived that he had been made waywode, only to oppose the choice of the emperor Leopold, and that the intention of the Turks was to make Transylvania a province of the Ottoman empire. And indeed the bashaw of Buda, who overran the province, exacted contributions from the towns, or left garrisons in them. Abaffi immediately wrote to the Porte to complain of the treaties

treaties not being observed and of his experiencing nothing but oppression from those from whom he had expected succours. He represented, that all the towns of his territory were in the hands of the prince who demanded tribute from him, and that it was impossible for him to pay the sums required, as the country where he was to raise them was drained by the troops of the sovereign paramount. The affected slowness of the Porte caused this unfortunate province to be entirely ruined, as the waywode's envoy obtained no answer from the divan. In this extremity, Abaffi had recourse to his enemies; he wrote to the emperor of the West and the king of Poland, to represent to them the miserable state of a Christian country that ought to be a barrier for them against the Infidels, and which they abandoned to their rapacity. The king of Poland and the emperor meditated solely to fortify their frontiers. Count Serin, who commanded for the emperor on the confines of Hungary, garrisoned Clausenburg, Samosvivar, and all the places which separate them from the Turks, and had a fort built near Kanisca, on their territory. This appeared to Kiuperli a more than sufficient motive for attacking the emperor of the West; but before he declared war, the sage vizier was willing to make the necessary preparations. He assembled provisions and ammunition from all parts, which he distributed in magazines in the European states; and, in order to cover his real

J.C. 1662.  
Heg. 1073

J.C. 1662.  
Heg. 1073.

designs, he gave out that these preparations were against Dalmatia. He had several conferences with baron Goës, the emperor of the West's minister at the Porte, on the pretensions of his master to the sovereignty of Transylvania, and to treat, as he said, of the means of making a solid peace between the two empires; but he set this peace at so high a price, that there was not the least appearance of its being possible to conclude it. Independently of the appointing of the waywode, Kiuperli insisted on having the fort which count Serin had built on his territory, given up to the Porte, and also liberty to place garrisons in Raab, Neuhausel, and several other places in Hungary; and he demanded likewise a considerable sum, to indemnify his master, as he said, for the preparations of the war. Baron Goës replied, that Heaven and Earth would come together sooner than the emperor his master would consent to sign such a treaty.

Both pre-  
pare for  
war.

Meanwhile a number of soldiers were sent from Natolia, Caramania, Damascus, Aleppo, Arabia, Erzerum, and Bagdad. Barks were continually going from Scutari to Constantinople; and the road leading to Adrianople was covered with troops. The rendezvous of this numerous army was ordered at Sophia, for the month of April; and in the month of February the tughs, or horse-tails, were set up, before the divan door, as a sign of war.

Three

Three months having passed in thus marching troops to Sophia, the grand seignior and his minister, who had passed the winter at Constantinople, departed at the head of some odas of spahis and janissaries, who were to follow the grand vizier to the army. The historian Ricaut, at that time secretary to the English embassy, gives us a magnificent description of these encampments, of which he was an eye witness. The tents of the grand seignior and grand vizier, and even those of the principal officers of the army, were lined with gold and silver stuffs. Their arms and the trappings of their horses were covered with gold and precious stones. The pageantry of the Orientals, as we have already several times remarked, has greatly contributed to the reputation that they have acquired in Europe. But the effeminacy to which Mahomet seemed inclined to resign himself in the flower of his age did not seem to promise that he would be a great general. His vizier, more martial, left him at Adrianople, surrounded by his mother, his women, and some young men for whom the emperor shewed an attachment already suspected by the grand vizier. Kiuperli, who both contemned and feared this court, had the credit to make Mustapha his brother-in-law caimacan in his absence, whom he believed, like himself, full of good intentions, and who was afterward grand vizier. He had assisted him in a work, the success of which greatly pleased the people, and which was finished before

J.C. 1662.  
Heg. 1073.

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

The grand seignior goes to Adrianople, and the grand vizier marches into Hungary.

J.C. 1663.  
 Heg. 1073,  
 & 1074. before the opening of the campaign. This was a general recoinage of the money. Kiuperli and Mustapha were sensible of the necessity of having a more regular standard for the coin, principally on account of the commerce with foreigners. Though in open war, they sacrificed an imaginary wealth to this public good, which in fact originated in real indigence.

Meanwhile the court of Vienna was not sufficiently active to disperse the storm which threatened it. Whilst the Ottoman army was advancing towards the frontiers of Hungary, Leopold assembled a diet at Ratisbon, to solicit succours, from the Germanick body, which he could not do without. The precautions of count Serin could not be expected to be sufficient against an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, all fresh and well disciplined. The slowness of their deliberations, and the clashing of different interests, caused the loss of much precious time to the emperor; but he had for the defence of Hungary the celebrated Montecuculli, whose experience and abilities were better than an army. This able general's whole attention was employed, as he said himself, in hiding from the enemy the small number of troops that were under his command, and in securely guarding the places which were considered as the keys of Hungary. Montecuculli, whose army did not amount to twenty thousand men, would not take the field with them: he continued in Raab, endeavouring to  
 make

make soldiers of all the citizens in a situation to carry arms. He had recommended the same thing to the governors of Neuhausel, and the other towns in which he had distributed his little army, relying on the fortifications of these places, on his military skill, and on the course of the Danube, the passage of which he hoped to be always able to defend. The march of the Turks had been so much retarded by continual rains, that the month of August was more than half over, when they appeared on the frontiers bordering on the Danube. The talents and renown of Montecuculi, and the sort of soldiers that he commanded, more formed to defend places than the Turks were to attack them, did not however seem sufficient to compensate for the advantage of a hundred and fifty thousand men over twenty thousand. Three places offered to Kiuperli on the banks of the Danube: Raab, Neuhausel, and Comorra. He resolved to begin with the attack of Neuhausel, where count Forgats commanded. This officer having received intelligence that the Turks had thrown a bridge of boats over the river, and that four thousand men had but just reached the other side when the bridge broke down, the Austrian general, full of valour and zeal, conceived the project of taking these four thousand men, or of cutting them to pieces. He had in the town more than ten thousand fighting men, soldiers and citizens. The officers who commanded under him remonstrated

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

He resolves  
to besiege  
Neuhausel.

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

Count  
Forgats  
marches  
out of the  
place,  
massacres  
a party of  
the ene-  
my, and  
his own  
army is  
massacred  
in turn.

to their chief, that Montecuculli's orders were to defend Neuhausel, and not to make war abroad.

Forgats represented to them the advantage of one troop's attacking another weaker by half, in the middle of the night, and in the moment when the enemy, not being guarded, could neither know the number nor by whom they were charged. At length, after a resistance of twenty-four hours, Forgats prevailed on his officers, more through shame than conviction, to march with him. Eight thousand men followed the count in the beginning of the night, without matches or drums, and in the most profound silence. On their arrival at sun rising at the place where the four thousand Turks were encamped, they found them asleep as they had expected. The Turks, who had no suspicion of having an army near them, kept a very negligent guard. Forgats's troops dispersed themselves in the tents before the guard of the camp had given the alarm. The eight thousand Germans had time to satiate themselves with blood and booty; but their success was of very short duration. The Turkish army had advantageously employed the twenty fours hours lost by Forgats and his garrison. The bridge of boats had been repaired, and the Turks had passed the Danube the day before, sufficiently late for the governor of Neuhausel to know nothing of it. Whilst the eight thousand Germans were slaughtering at their leisure the four thousand Turks that they had surprised, and

which



which then formed the advanced guard of the army, the troops of Kiuperli, awaked by the noise, ranged themselves in battle, and extended their wings by the glimmer of the twilight. The Germans, surrounded in the moment when they were beginning to congratulate themselves on their victory, perceived they had no other resource left than to sell their lives dearly. The earth was soon covered with the dead of both parties; and when the eight thousand Germans were reduced to fourteen or fifteen hundred, they threw down their arms. Notwithstanding this submission, Kiuperli, hurried away by the carnage and his resentment at having so many of his soldiers killed by these brave fellows, ordered the slaughter to be continued; so that a great number of these unfortunate men were massacred whilst on their knees, begging for mercy. This bloody massacre struck those who beheld it with horror, and even the murderers, who represented to Kiuperli, that this manner of making war was as dangerous as barbarous. The grand vizier, yielding to these remonstrances, put a stop to the butchery, after several hundreds of these victims had been slaughtered without defence. They raised a pyramid on the field of battle composed of the heads of the Germans. Sir Paul Ricaut relates his having seen this monument of cruelty some years after. Forgats found means to save himself from the carnage, at the head of some horse. He was received in Neuhausel with the

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

tears and reproaches of those who demanded of him an account of the blood of their relations and friends.

Neuhäusel  
is invested.

The grand vizier made his approaches, surrounded the place, and opened the trenches. As his army was too numerous to be all employed around a town which was not very extensive, Kiuperli, persuaded that he had more need of bravery than number, employed only his janissaries and best infantry in the siege; and instead of dismounting the spahis and timarians, as had often been practised in important sieges, he formed them into different parties, and sent them to ravage Austria and Moravia. These plunderers desolated a fertile country, dragging the farmers, their wives, and children, into slavery, and butchering those whom the horror of captivity excited to make a feeble defence against force and cruelty. These scattered parties of troops appeared as far as the ramparts of Presburg and Vienna. Every thing had been collected in these places that could possibly be removed from the avidity of the Tartars and Turks; but the families of most consideration were gone into other countries to put themselves in safety, as the diet of Ratisbon deferred raising a sufficient army to protect the dominions of the emperor.

Parties ravage  
Austria and  
Moravia.

Kiuperli's  
secret enemies  
endeavour to  
ruin him.

Whilst Kiuperli was exerting himself against the enemies of his master, the secret enemies which his authority had raised him up at court were endeavouring to ruin him by intrigues that

that he could not foresee. We have already <sup>J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074-</sup> remarked, that the young icoglans whom the emperor had made his companions, had assumed by degrees more influence over him than all the women of his haram. One of them particularly, called Asan, whom he had made selictar aga or sword-bearer, was in the highest favor. The beauties of his person and mind had so attached Mahomet to him, that the prince could not be happy without him. He admitted him to all his councils, and executed nothing without his approbation. Kiuperli, either through jealousy, or a wish to have his master grant his confidence to those only that were worthy of serving him, had several times advised Mahomet to give his favorite some Asiatic government. Asan aga, who clearly discerned that they wanted to condemn him to an honorable exile, conceived the strongest aversion for the grand vizier. He eagerly received the complaints of the reis effendi, who was commissary to the army. This ambitious man was father-in-law to one of Kiuperli's lieutenants, called Ibrahim; and he entertained great hopes of obtaining the command of the army for his son-in-law. He wrote frequently to the favorite of Mahomet IV. always observing that a general brought up in the cabinet was very improper to command an army; that the siege of Neuhausel was on the point of being raised through the incapacity of the grand vizier, who would only consume a fine army; and that he saw no one

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

but Ibrahim aga, his son-in-law, capable of saving the empire from the disasters with which it was menaced. Young Asan aga, too confident in the ascendancy which he had over his master, resolved to put his credit once more to the trial. He had already procured the deposition of almost all the officers of the seraglio, in order to fill their places with his creatures. He thought that a grand vizier, however necessary he might be, could not withstand the favorite of such a young, voluptuous prince as Mahomet IV. But, whether the emperor was tired of Asan aga, or the recent services of Kiuperli and the last advice of the old grand vizier his father were fresh in the sultan's memory, Mahomet heard only with indignation what the imprudent Asan aga had the presumption to say to him against his minister; and, after having ordered him to hold his tongue, demanded the effendi's letter of him. The latter not having dared refuse it him, the grand seignior immediately sent a courier to his general, with this monument of the ingratitude of his creatures; for the reis effendi had been appointed by the old Kiuperli his father, and he himself had taken Ibrahim out of the timarians to make him his kiaia.

Taking of  
Neuhau-  
fel.

The capitulation of Neuhausel had just been signed when the courier from the Porte arrived. Count Forgats had made a most vigorous defence, and repulsed several assaults. The ditches had been several times filled up with Turkish  
dead

dead bodies, and the besieged, notwithstanding the smallness of their number, had made several successful sallies. At length, after having the trenches open forty-three days, the Turkish army was reduced to fifteen thousand men, and the place made no appearance of surrendering, when the powder magazine suddenly blew up, either through accident, or that the Turks had found means to corrupt some of the garrison. There was no more powder left than what each soldier carried about him. In this extremity the count thought it time to seek an honorable capitulation. As the Turks were not absolutely certain of the besieged's wanting ammunition, they durst not refuse either the franchises of the town, or the honors of war to those who had behaved so bravely. All the citizens who had carried arms and desired to march out with the garrison were permitted to do it. Three thousand five hundred fighting men marched to Comorra, escorting six hundred wounded, carried on litters.

As soon as Kiuperli saw himself quietly master of Neuhausel, he assembled a council of war, in which the reis effendi and the kiaia Ibrahim his son-in-law appeared. He asked, with a tone of authority, if any of those who heard him could have flattered themselves with a more favorable success; and if, with the resistance that the Germans had made, it would have been easy to take this strong place in less than forty-three days. As all the officers, the reis effendi, and even the kiaia,

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

How their  
impotent  
efforts are  
punished.

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074. {  
kiaia, were eager to congratulate Kiuperli on his success, and unceasing in their praise of his military talents; amidst these encomiums, the grand vizier drew out the letter which Mahomet had sent him. After having convicted his two enemies of ingratitude and perfidy, he caused the emperor's order for punishing them to be read, and both were instantly beheaded. The confiscation of the reis effendi's property brought a large sum into the public treasury.

Disgrace of  
Asan aga. {  
Very soon after, Asan aga himself experienced how little is to be depended upon the favor of princes. The sultan, grown weary of this favorite who had believed himself the terror of the greatest men in the empire, deprived him of the first place in the seraglio. Asan was made caviggi pachî; this post gave him authority over the porters of the seraglio only, without any opportunity of speaking to the monarch.

But to return to the operations of the war, the loss of Neuhausel had discouraged the Austrians. They fancied they saw the enemy at the gates of Vienna. The fortifications of that place were repaired with all possible haste, and the neighbouring forests cut down, lest parties of Turks should shelter themselves therein. A general consternation reigned throughout the Western empire: the Austrians, not satisfied with securing their frontiers, laboured to fortify all the places along the Danube as far as Lintz.

Lewentz,

Lewentz, Novigrád, and Nitra, surrendered almost without resistance.. The latter was in a situation to hold out a long time, if the governor had not been so earnest to capitulate to avoid an assault. Montecuculli had him tried; and his cowardice was punished with death. The grand vizier was desirous likewise to attempt the siege of Scinta, which he knew was the magazine of the Austrians for their arms and ammunition; but he met with a much stronger resistance from that place than from all the others. After having lost a month and more than six thousand men before that fortress, the advanced season of the year, and the sickness and discouragement of the troops, obliged him to go into winter quarters. The Ottomans flattered themselves with being soon in possession of Hungary and Austria, though they had been far from having made the most of the many advantages which fortune had thrown in their way.

J.C. 1663.  
Heg. 1073,  
& 1074.

Several  
places are  
taken.

The siege  
of Scinta is  
raised.

Meanwhile the Germans, who had seen the mischief which the Ottoman army had done Hungary, and likewise what they had failed of doing, wrote to the emperor Leopold, that he must either send succours or expect to see the Turks masters of Austria in a very short time. This prince's representations to the diet were not unsuccessful. He obtained twenty-five thousand men from the circles, under the command of count Hohenloe. This little army went to Stiria to join count Serin, who had raised a great number

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.

The emperor  
Leopold  
obtains  
succours.

ber

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.

ber of recruits in Hungary. The hatred of the Turks, and the dread of slavery, made every one take up arms who thought himself capable. A body of Austrians, commanded by count Strozzi, joined the two others. These three armies amounted together to more than sixty thousand men; but they had three chiefs independent of one another; and Montecuculli, who was more capable of commanding than all the rest, continued in his government of Raab: this proceeded from the jealousy of count Serin, who was his equal in rank, and who took advantage of his favor, not to divide with such a formidable rival, the glory which he thought himself sure of acquiring with colleagues of little experience whom he supposed quite tractable. The project of the three generals was to begin the war in the depth of the winter, to ravage all the country, and to penetrate as far as Kaniska, which they reckoned they could make themselves masters of before the Turks should have thought of taking the field. Montecuculli being informed of their design, sent to the council of war, that it was not politic to lay waste their own country, already very miserable, in a season when there was nothing useful to be reaped by the enemy; that burning places, pillaging barns and granaries, and destroying bridges and farms, would be much more fatal to the Hungarian farmers than to the Turkish soldiers; that this would be augmenting the calamities of war without reaping  
any




any advantage from it; and that as to Kanisca, he well knew, it was not a place that could be taken in the middle of winter. This sage advice was not attended to. The three generals began their operations with an agreement that was not of long duration. They took Brenitz in a very few days; after which, having marched as far as Five-Churches, ravaging and burning all the country, they lost a number of men and much time before that place, which they might have employed to more advantage elsewhere. Count Serin was bent on continuing this siege; but Hohenloe and Strozzi insisted on laying siege to Kanisca, which was their principal object, and the place which they had written the emperor Leopold that they proposed conquering. Count Serin was obliged to yield to the importunity of his two colleagues. They raised the siege of Five-Churches in the middle of February; but through the disagreement of the three generals, who had each an absolute power over his troops, and consequently an opportunity of preventing their being employed to advantage, Kanisca was not invested by the end of March. A month had passed in vainly attempting to make an opening in the ramparts of Kanisca, when they learned that the Ottoman army was approaching, to the number of ninety thousand men. The troops were greatly diminished and discouraged, and had but little confidence in their commanders. A scarcity began to be felt, and the disagreement

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074.  
& 1075.

Disagree-  
ment be-  
tween the  
command-  
ers of the  
German  
troops.

They un-  
dertake the  
siege of  
Kanisca,  
and raise  
it at the  
end of a  
month.

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.  of the generals, who threw all the fault on each other, slackened the operations, and seemed to foretell that a defeat was almost inevitable. No one choosing to be answerable for the event, the generals agreed in this single point, that it was necessary to raise the siege and take shelter in the fort of Serinswar. The emperor soon learned that this fort was attacked by the Turks, and that those, who had promised to drive the enemy back as far as Buda, were obliged to retreat themselves.

Montecuculli takes the command of the Austrian army.

In this extremity, Leopold wrote to Montecuculli, who was then at Vienna, to order him to take the command of the army. This general hastened thither immediately, and the officers and soldiers instantly reassumed their confidence. Montecuculli perceived that the Turks were bent on taking Serinswar; though he considered that place as of little consequence, he wished to have it hold out some time, in order that his army might have some repose, and that the auxiliary troops might arrive, such as the six thousand French which Lewis XIV. had sent under the marquis of Coligny, and ten thousand men commanded by the prince of Baden, raised with the money of pope Alexander VII. Montecuculli's army being thus augmented, he abandoned Serinswar, and encamped near the fording places of the Muer, in order to defend its passage.

He defends the passage of the Muer.

Count Strozzi had been killed in the defence of Serinswar. Count Serin, enraged at the success

cess of Montecuculli and the confidence with which he inspired the troops, had thought fit to retire. Hohenloe was the only one that remained of the old commanders, obedient to a general more expert than himself, and contented to serve his country under his orders. The grand vizier, forced to give up his enterprize, after having lost both time and men, retreated towards Kanisca. Montecuculli, attentive to the motions of the Turks, marched his army to Saint-Godard, a post which equally covered Stiria and Austria. He paid the same attention to the defence of the river Raab, as he had to that of the river Muer, keeping always a strict eye on the motions of the enemy. He paid his spies well, and was truly informed, not only of the enterprizes, but even of the designs of the grand vizier. Kiuperli, after having attempted in vain for a fortnight to pass the Raab out of sight of the army, perceived that he had no other resource than open force, and that he must either vanquish or turn back. The grand vizier, who thought himself stronger than his enemy, undertook to pass the river in sight. The Austrians permitted fifteen thousand men to cross over without any opposition, after which they fell on them with great fury. The janissaries and spahis eagerly threw themselves into the river to come to the assistance of their comrades. Every manoeuvre was executed in the confederate army with the greatest order. Hungarians,

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.

Battle of  
St. Godard,  
lost by the  
Turks.

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.

garians, Austrians, French, Italians, all obeyed with admirable promptitude and precision. The victory was a long time doubtful. Notwithstanding the efforts of the janissaries and spahis, who shewed all the bravery that could be expected from them, they were at length obliged to give way to the efforts of the Austrians, and particularly to the talents of the general. The battle lasted from nine o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon. Thirty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, who had not passed the river, were reserved for a more favorable occasion. The disadvantage of a river behind the Ottoman army increased their loss considerably. One of the vizier's lieutenants had observed to him, before the action, how fatal such a position might become in case they should be obliged to retreat: "When people are resolved to vanquish," replied Kiuperli, "they must not look behind them." The event demonstrated that this answer was more courageous than prudent. For two days after the action, the Raab was dyed with blood and covered with dead bodies. The loss of the Turks was counted at twenty-one thousand men; that of the Imperialists at four thousand. This defeat was the more mortifying to Mahomet IV. as he had not entertained the least doubt of the victory; and the grand vizier having sent word to his master, an hour before the battle, that he was going to cut the enemy to pieces; on the faith of this presumptuous promise

mise the grand seignior had ordered a dulema in Constantinople and Adrianople, a sort of festival that lasts seven days, during which the streets are illuminated every evening, and the people have public and private feasts. This festival was already begun; the second day, as they were illuminating the seraglio and the town an hour after sun-set, the news arrived that the battle was lost; that the grand vizier was retreating with the troops which had not had the time to pass the Raab, and with the broken remains of those that had been beaten.

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.

A general consternation spread in Adrianople with the order to extinguish the illumination. It was so great in the seraglio and even in the divan, that the ministers were incapable of advising Mahomet any thing but to endeavour to make a speedy peace. The caimacan, Mustapha, strongly supported this advice; he even wrote to Kiuperli, that the number of enemies which he had at the Porte, though intimidated by the example of the last favorite, resumed courage as soon as they heard that the army had been beaten. The little success that he had had in his two campaigns convinced him of the necessity of concluding a peace as soon as possible. The waywodes of Moldavia and Walachia, who had been beaten with the grand vizier at Saint Godard, had just left him, as their soldiers and themselves were quite discouraged. Notwithstanding the menaces and intreaties which Kiuperli made these two tributaries

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.

Peace con-  
cluded be-  
tween the  
two em-  
pires.

tributaries to oblige them to rejoin the broken remains of his army, the waywode of Walachia deserted to the Austrians, choosing rather to accept a moderate pension from the emperor of the West, than to expose with the Turks the dignity of potentate to deposition, or perhaps an ignominious death. The waywode of Moldavia excused his flight on account of the impossibility of recruiting the few troops escaped from the defeat of St. Godard. At length, as the Turks retreated, and the Austrians pressed them hard, Montecuculli came up with them near Scinta on the Waag, and was on the point of beating them a second time, when he received letters from the envoy at the Porte, who was retained prisoner in the grand vizier's camp. This minister informed him, that the Ottomans made propositions for a peace, and that he would soon receive orders from Vienna to suspend all hostilities. These orders arrived in reality: all Europe was astonished at the precipitation with which the emperor Leopold consented to a peace in which only the Hungarians were sacrificed. Abaffi was acknowledged prince of Transylvania by Leopold as well as Mahomet. The towns of Waradin and Neuhausel were confirmed to the Turks, who had taken them. The emperor of the West recovered by this treaty the two provinces of Satmar and Saboli, which had been ceded to prince Ragotzki. It was likewise stipulated that he should have liberty to fortify Nitra,

and


and leave Austrian garrisons in all the Hungarian towns which had received them during the war. This clause was quite contrary to the privileges of that kingdom ; but the Turks had no interest to protect the Hungarians, and the house of Austria had been thinking a long time, only how to subjugate these people, whom it considered as too free. It was stipulated that Abassi should pay seventy-five thousand pounds sterling to the Turks for the expences of the war. Leopold furnished this sum ; but the plenipotentiaries saved the western crown the humiliation of appearing to pay a tribute to the Infidels. This treaty was signed in the Turkish camp, and soon after confirmed in the seraglio of Adrianople. It was agreed that the two emperors should mutually send one another ambassadors and presents.

The rejoicings which had been interrupted at Adrianople were recommenced with the more reason, because one of the odalisks of the seraglio was brought to bed of a prince. The joy of Mahomet IV. was contaminated by a sentiment of cruelty which 'till then he had not been thought capable of. He fancied that he ought to secure the sceptre to himself, and likewise to his son, by the death of his two brothers Solyman and Achmet. In order to disguise his crime under an appearance of justice, he solicited a fetfa of the musti. The chief of the law had humanity enough to detest this crime, and sufficient courage to oppose it. The grand seignior

J.C. 1664-  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.

Birth of a  
prince.  
Mahomet  
determines  
to put his  
brothers to  
death.

having

J.C. 1664.  
Heg. 1074,  
& 1075.  having sent him by the felictar aga the following question, written with his own hand : “ When  
 “ the empire is well provided with princes of  
 “ the Ottoman race in a direct line, is it not  
 “ lawful, and even authorised by different exam-  
 “ ples, to cut off the superfluous branches,  
 “ which, depriving the stock of its juices and  
 “ nourishment, endanger the whole tree?” The  
 musti, without writing any thing at the bottom  
 of this paper, though it is customary, and the order  
 of the grand seignior prescribes it, went himself to  
 the monarch, and, whether he succeeded in mak-  
 ing him sensible of the barbarity of this design,  
 or that he convinced him that the imperial race  
 was not yet well secured by one sole infant just  
 come into the world, Mahomet changed his  
 mind, and told the bashaws of the bench, that  
 he would have nothing done to his brothers.  
 The valid sultaneſs, having gotten intelligence of  
 her eldest son’s barbarous intention, was already  
 fled to Constantinople with the two youngest,  
 leaving at Adrianople a letter which reproached  
 the emperor with his cruelty : thus the two vic-  
 tims were no longer in the seraglio when their  
 brother resolved to spare them.

He changes  
his mind.

J.e. 1665.  
Heg. 1076. The grand vizier remained at Belgrade, as he  
 would not appear at court ’till the German am-  
 bassador was arrived there to confirm the treaty.  
 Neither the absence of Kiuperli, nor the faults  
 with which he might have been reproached in the  
 last war, had been able to diminish his credit.

The



The efforts which two bashaws had made to de-  
stroy the prime minister, having cost them their  
lives, the rest gave over all hopes of setting the  
sultan against him; and the union in which Kiuperli  
lived with his mother, who was come to the  
army to him, confirmed more and more the ge-  
neral opinion that this woman was a witch, and  
that her son was solely indebted for the mainte-  
nance of his authority to the power of her en-  
chantments. At length count Lessi, the am-  
bassador from the emperor of the West, having  
repaired to Buda in order to pass from thence to  
Adrianople, the grand vizier had no longer any  
reason for retarding his return. He arrived at  
the Porte some days before that minister, who  
brought the treaty. Mahomet would have  
Kiuperli make a triumphal entry into the place  
of his residence: several days were necessary to  
prepare this pageantry. During this interval,  
the grand vizier was privately introduced into  
the seraglio, where his master loaded him with all  
possible marks of esteem and satisfaction. A fa-  
vorite, called Ali, had succeeded young Asan at court  
and in the affection of Mahomet. This young  
man taught by the misfortune of the last favorite,  
had resolved to pay Kiuperli the greatest respect,  
and not to meddle with any of the affairs of go-  
vernment, in order to reign in peace in the se-  
raglio. He had gone out against Kiuperli several  
days journey from Adrianople, and carried the  
grand vizier rich presents from his master. After

J.C. 1065.  
Heg. 1076.

Return of  
the grand  
vizier.  
His entry  
into Adri-  
anople.

J.C. 1665.  
Heg. 1076.

a rather short stay in the seraglio, Kiuperli returned to the troops which he had brought from Belgrade, then encamped near the town. He entered through the principal gate of Adrianople, at the head of the choice of his soldiers: he and his horse were covered with presents from the grand seignior; and those, who were chosen to ornament this sort of triumph, shared in the prince's liberalities. Though the grand vizier had been beaten by Montecuculli, the conclusion of this war was perfectly advantageous for the Porte, as they kept Waradin and Neuhaufel, and had gotten themselves reimbursed great part of the expences of the war.

Entry of  
the Ger-  
man am-  
bassador.

Count Lesli, the ambassador from the emperor of the West, made his public entry into Adrianople, a very few days after that of the grand vizier. A bashaw of two tails had been sent to Leopold, with the same title and for the same purpose. Both these ministers of peace carried presents, and the ratification of the treaty, each to the power to which he was sent. The name of truce was given to this suspension of arms; but its duration was to be twenty years. Though it was not compatible with the dignity of the sultan to be present at the entrance of a Christian ambassador, Mahomet IV. would fain see that of count Lesli, from a terrace where he stood among several bashaws. Notwithstanding the precautions taken to keep this a secret, the ambassador of the western empire

pire knew that Mahomet IV. had honored his entry with his presence. He added to the presents which he was charged to present to his highness from his court, a coach beautifully gilt, which he learned that the sultan had greatly admired. This liberality, seasonably made, procured count Lessi a vest of sable, at the audience which he had of Mahomet, instead of a simple caftán of silk, such as was given to the other ambassadors. The Germans derived advantage afterward from this polite behaviour of their minister.

J.C. 1665.  
Heg. 1076.

Among the gentlemen that had followed the count, was a noble Genoese called Durazzo. It was thought that curiosity and the love of travelling had drawn him to Adrianople; but it was soon found that, without being invested with any character, he was charged to negotiate with the Porte, for his republic, the privilege of trading with the Turks under their own flag. Mr. Lahaye-Vantelet, the French ambassador, was presently warned of the designs of the Genoese. It is well known that the French nation, as first ally of the Porte, has the privilege of lending its flag to those who have no particular treaties with the Turks, and consequently of making them contribute to the expences which the nation is obliged to bear. The new pretensions of the Genoese were very prejudicial to the French, as these republicans had, for several years past, had much correspondence in the dis-

Treaty of  
the Ge-  
noese with  
the Porte.

J.C. 1665.  
Heg. 1076.

How terminated.

ferent factories; and though they divided the products, which had formerly been parted between the French and Venetians only, the sole masters of the commerce, the portion of the imposts which they bore, for the common and necessary expences, eased accordingly the French nation. Mr. Vantelet loudly demanded the observance of the treaties made with his master, and pretended that the Porte could not make any new commercial agreements with the Christian nations, without the express consent of the king of France. He threatened to retire and carry with him all the French consuls that resided in the different ports. But, whether the grand vizier remembered what had passed between the two fathers of Kiuperli and the ambassador, and with Mr. Lahaye-Vantelet himself, or (which is more likely) that the Porte were displeased with Lewis XIV. for having succoured Leopold in the last war, the remonstrances of the French ambassador only hastened the conclusion of the treaty with Genoa. Lewis XIV., irritated at the little success of his menaces, recalled his ambassador; but the policy of the Turks not permitting them to suffer the departure of the Christian ministers, (hostages in their hands, and the chief instruments of a commerce which they cannot do without,) Kiuperli prevailed on his master to again dispatch an ambassador extraordinary to Lewis XIV. and he retained Mr. Vantelet under different pretences, 'till the latter was relieved by Mr. Denointel, whom the king of France was pleased


pleased to send, on the express promise that the duties which 'till then had been at five per cent. should be reduced to three.

J.C. 1669.  
Heg. 1076.

Meanwhile Kiuperli, who, on his arrival, had learned the attempt which his master had been going to make on the lives of his two brothers, the flight of the princes, and the terror of the valid sultaness, thought it prudent to bring the royal family together again. His influence over the mind of the sultan overcame the repugnance of that prince. The people had long wished his return to Constantinople; for that city, and all Asiatic Turkey, suffered greatly from the emperor and the court's being at so great a distance.

But Mahomet no sooner saw himself within these walls, where he remembered that his father had perished by the hands of those whom he had raised to the highest dignities, and where he himself had been constrained to sacrifice his grandmother to his own safety, than he would fain recover the liberty which he fancied he had lost. Under pretence of taking the diversions of the field, he went to the seraglio of Darud bashaw, a pleasure-house at some miles from Constantinople, belonging to the emperors. He scarcely remained there more than the night, as he would be most of the day hunting in immense plains, which he caused to be surrounded by a number of peasants, stopping in any houses that fell in his way, and making free with them as his own, without ever thinking of paying for them, when they

Return of  
Mahomet  
to Constantinople;  
his occupations.

J.C. 1665. they belonged to officers of the empire. He  
 Heg. 1076.  said, that he, who held honors and favors of his prince, should think himself happy in being able to make him some return for the riches which he had received. Mahomet, who had slumbered on the throne from his infancy, was ignorant that justice is the surest guard of kings. Leaving the cares of government to an able minister, he had limited his own rights of sovereignty, to the privilege of satisfying all his caprices; and though he seemed to dread the fate of his father, he let his subjects see that he was unworthy of governing them.

However, Mahomet was reconciled for some time with his mother and brothers; he promised them that they should live in peace, provided they would not go out of the seraglio again without his permission. Kiuperli, who wished to dissipate the reports that were too much gotten abroad of the proscription of these princes, and to destroy the mistrust which they had had but too much reason to conceive, thought it improper for them to be removed from the capital.

J.C. 1666. Meanwhile the war continued, or rather lin-  
 Heg. 1077. gered, in the isle of Candia. For twenty years past the Ottomans had been in possession of Caneo and Retimo, without having made any new conquest, or the Venetians having been able to recover those two places. Some skirmishes now and then had neither gained nor lost any ground to either party. Kiuperli, who earnestly desired

to

to signalize his ministry, resolved to complete the conquest of this island, by turning against the Venetians the forces which the peace with Germany left the Ottomans. But, whilst he was attentively employed in equipping a fleet and completing the troops, he learned, that a much more dangerous enemy than any of the Christian powers had appeared in Palestine.

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

This was the celebrated Jewish impostor, Sabbatai Sevi, who called himself the Messiah, and announced to the Israelites, that the time was come when they were to be the masters of the world. Several fanatics had given out that a great many miracles would happen in the year 1666. Some Christians fancied they had read in the Apocalypse, that the return of the Jews to the true worship was fixed for this epoch. Sabbatai Sevi, one of the doctors of the Jewish law, thought he might make a hand of this prevailing error. He boldly declared himself the Messiah; and in order that the prophecies might appear to be accomplished in him, another doctor of the law, with whom he was agreed, undertook to be his forerunner. These two impostors engaged for several months, not only the attention of all the Jews that inhabited the eastern empire, but even of the bashaws, who, from the pretended miracles which were published, and the number of the new sectaries flocking to Jerusalem, had just reason to fear a revolution. Sabbatai Sevi, who was a most excellent logician, had started a number of

History of  
Sabbatai  
Sevi.

new

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.  
new opinions, which had at first raised his reputation, but which afterward had caused him to be expelled the synagogue of Smyrna. He visited all the towns where there were synagogues, and was every where admired for his profound knowledge and the austerity of his life. Being arrived at Jerusalem, he there met another Jewish doctor, called Nathan, whom the conformity of talents, manners, and passions, united to him so closely, that they agreed to take advantage of the credulity of the people, the enthusiasm of their sectaries, and the love which the ignorant part of mankind has for novelty. When they had meditated for a long time a project that tended to overturn the eastern empire, and which, in the heat of their ambition, gave them hopes of being able to deceive and govern the whole world, Sabbatai repaired to Gaza, where he began to preach in the synagogues, and even in the open squares, that the world was near at an end, and that it was time to disarm God's wrath by repentance and change of manners; that Elias, whose coming was so much predicted in the Scriptures, was then announcing to the people of Jerusalem what were the intentions of the Almighty on all his creatures. Sabbatai was very eloquent in his language; his figure was noble, and the sound of his voice penetrated to the heart. Whilst some sensible people were exclaiming against this novator at Gaza, they learned from Jerusalem that the pretended Elias  
was



was talking there of Sabbatai as the son of God, who was come to break the sceptres and overturn the thrones; and who, within a year, would order the Infidel Mahomet IV. to descend from his; that Sabbatai, after having published his mission and manifested his power, would disappear for several months from the face of the earth; that then his disciples, and all the co-operators in this holy work, would be persecuted; that a number of true Believers would suffer martyrdom; but that, when this term should be expired, the Messiah would return mounted on a celestial lion, and that he should be then acknowledged for the sole monarch of the universe; that the holy temple would descend at Jerusalem from Heaven, ready built and ornamented; that sacrifices of expiation should be offered up there, which would be efficacious for all who should be willing to return to the true belief; and that, as the consummation of all things drew near, the Infidels as well as the true Believers had yet sufficient time and means to sanctify themselves. These prophecies were supported by letters addressed to Sabbatai Sevi, styling him son of God, Messiah, and sovereign of the world.

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

The pretended Messiah replied to these testimonies, by confirming the mission of his prophet and the truth of his words. He ordered several doctors of the law to be deposed, who had combated his opinions in the synagogues. He visited several towns in Palestine, opposing some-

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

times the zeal of those who wanted to follow him, left he should not be able to nourish the abused multitude, whom the hopes of a speedy salvation induced to neglect their temporal affairs. The Jews, who, in all ages, have been the greediest of mankind, neglected their business to attend to the voice of their Messiah, his prophet, or those who preached in their name. Persuaded that Sabbatai could read the secrets of the heart, a great many were solely taken up with purifying their consciences; but, as injustice takes all advantages, some would fain make this enthusiasm an excuse for not paying their debts, saying that when people's thoughts were solely occupied with the good things of Heaven, all earthly considerations should cease; that as to commerce, obligations, and things perishable, they were matters no longer to be thought of; that time was about to end, and that neither silver nor gold was necessary to live in eternity. But Sabbatai was unwilling to have his sectaries reproached with rapine. He ordered, both in writing and by word of mouth, that all debts should be paid, and recommended honesty as the first step to salvation.

It was necessary to confirm by miracles a mission which, as he said, was perfectly supernatural. As Sabbatai was preaching at Damascus, some Jews complained to their king (for they no longer gave him any other title), that the officers of the tyrant Mahomet IV. were exacting from them a tax

tax insupportable. The prophet repaired to the house of the cadi, and whilst he went to the apartment of the judge, the multitude that had accompanied him remained in the court and the lobby of the house, which was well heated and lighted, as one might expect the habitation of the richest and most considerable officer of Damascus to be in a winter evening. The populace cried that a column of fire shone between the cadi and the prophet; the greatest enthusiasts thought they saw it. Those, who were not in the house, confided in the general cry and the testimony of Sabbatai. The cadi, who had presumed to resist the prophet, was found dead in his bed two days after. This supposed chastisement of Heaven converted a number of Mussulmen, and even Christians, to the faith of the false Messiah. No one had taken up arms; but the number of the sectaries increased so prodigiously, even in the places where Sabbatai had never been heard, and they published with so much confidence that the power of the Ottoman house, which had been usurped for near four centuries, was to submit to that of the son of God, that Kiuperli thought it high time to put a stop to this dangerous imposture. Without sending troops against the false prophet, who employed no other forces than those of persuasion, he resolved to entice him to Constantinople, where his mission ought to end, as he had predicted that the tyrant would descend from the throne at his

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

J.C. 1866.  
Heg. 1077: voice. The forerunner Nathan had already preached at Constantinople, and the number of his profelytes seemed to require Sabbatai Sevi to come and shew himself to so many new subjects, who, sometimes, in their cups, (for these sectaries drank freely of wine) fancied they saw their Messiah, their Saviour, the son of God, the king of Earth and Heaven: they addressed prayers to him, and ran into the streets and public squares, singing hymns in his praise. Kiuperli, who, as we have said, wished to see the new Messiah at Constantinople, employed, to draw him thither, one of the doctors of the Jewish law whom Sabbatai had deposed, and who had treacherously recovered his favor in hopes to ruin him; this was a Pole called Nehemiah Cohan: he went in search of Sabbatai Sevi at Smyrna, to inform him of the progress which Nathan and his companions had made at Constantinople, assuring him that he had only to appear there to make Mahomet IV., already intimidated and almost converted, descend from his throne. Sabbatai embarked in a faick, followed by a few of his disciples only; for his plan of conduct was to employ no physical power, and to make but little shew, in order to present a greater contrast between the state which he had left and that which he aspired at, and to convince mankind that they are all on a level before the Divinity. As soon as Kiuperli was informed of this embarkation, he sent two ships of war to lay wait for the prophet in his passage.

passage. Neither he nor his followers had expected a battle; the Messiah was secured without difficulty, and conducted to the public prisons of Constantinople. This misfortune no way diminished the number of his proselytes; for Sabbatai had taken the precaution to announce, that he should undoubtedly experience persecutions very soon, and that he should be even forced for a time from the sight of the true Believers. As the Turks will do any thing for money, those, who wished to see the envoy of God in irons, purchased permission. Sabbatai's prison was never empty, and the most zealous of those who went to see him published miracles of him, whether they had been imposed on, or that they wished to put themselves forward in the sect. Nathan had left Constantinople as soon as he heard of his master's imprisonment. "It was necessary," he said, "for the advantage of the truth, that the Messiah and his prophet should inhabit different places." One can scarcely comprehend how the emperor and his vizier, who had not been so sparing of human blood always, did not extinguish in that of these two impostors the sparks of a rebellion which threatened to blaze forth. The minister, who had not yet taken the field, having learned that Sabbatai still continued to make converts, that he prescribed a new worship, and spread seditious writings among the people, had him conveyed to one of the castles of the Dardanelles, in order

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

to prevent his being surrounded by such a concourse of people. But these difficulties only increased their zeal. As soon as the grand vizier had embarked for the isle of Candia, and the sultan, following his inclination, had returned to Adrianople, the disciples of the Messiah had such numerous and frequent assemblies at Constantinople, and the castle of the Dardanelles was every day surrounded by so many people, who continually talked of refusing the tyrant his tribute, that, though they were without arms, the caimacan dreaded the consequences. Mustapha (that was the name of the caimacan of Constantinople) wrote the grand seignior, that it was high time to put a stop to these proceedings, which threatened to overturn the sovereign power; that Sabbatai Sevi, though disarmed, was growing more dangerous than a rebel at the head of an army. On the receipt of this letter, Mahomet ordered that Sabbatai Sevi should be brought before him. His disciples never thought of rescuing him on the way; they only made use of fervent prayers against what they called persecution. Full of confidence in the power of their Messiah, they expected all the miracles that he had promised them. Sabbatai was conducted to Adrianople; the road was covered with men, who prostrated themselves before him, and strewed the ground with palm-branches and flowers. The crowd of those who believed him to be the son of God awaited Sabbatai's manifesting his power,

power, with the confidence of fanatics inspired by illusion. The impostor fed this credulity with forcible arguments, and such an apparent tranquility, that he was admired even by those who did not believe in him; but this premature triumph was but of short duration. Sabbatai was no sooner arrived at Adrianople, than the sultan had him brought before him. The splendor of Mahomet's throne and the presence of the monarch almost rendered the prophet speechless. The prince having spoken to him in Turkish, Sabbatai declared that that language was not familiar to him; that he understood and spoke it so badly, that he must beg to have an interpreter. They sent for a physician, who, from a Jew, had turned Mahometan, and who understood the bad Greek mixed with Arabic spoken at Smyrna. Mahomet smiled at hearing the son of God confess that he had not the gift of tongues, and remarked it to all the divan who stood around; but when Sabbatai had declared, by the voice of his truchman, that he was the Messiah bestowed on the chosen people, to re-establish them in their pre-eminence and make them reign over all the globe, that the throne on which Mahomet was sitting belonged to him, that the universe was his patrimony, and that all the earth was under the controul of his voice, the sultan declared to him, that he was ready to acknowledge his divinity, if he would immediately manifest it by a miracle, and that he was going to furnish

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

J.C. 1666.  
Heg. 1077.

furnish him with an occasion for doing it. Having ordered the Messiah to be stripped, he was fastened to a pillar in the inner court of the seraglio. All the *icogla*ns prepared to shoot arrows at him at a moderate distance. "If thou be the son of God," said the emperor to him, "thy body will be proof against the darts that they are going to shoot at thee; then I will yield up my throne to thee and become thy disciple; if thou art only an impostor, thou shalt receive the reward of thy audacity and knavery." This order was a clap of thunder for the Messiah; all his resolution forsook him, and he acknowledged, with tears in his eyes, that he had imposed on the credulity of the people. This confession was insufficient to save his life, as he had flattered himself it would. He was told that he was going to be instantly empaled, unless he embraced the Mahometan faith. He, who had renounced his divinity to save himself from the arrows of the *icogla*ns, could not be expected to make much difficulty of embracing Islamism to avoid the torments with which he was threatened. What is most astonishing is, that the public retraction of this impostor did not instantly disperse his sect. Though the Jews of Adrianople were covered with shame and grieved to the very heart, those of Smyrna and other Asiatic countries constantly followed the forerunner Nathan, who gave out, that the pretended imposture of Sabbatai was only a trick of the demon which had taken the shape



shape of the son of God ; others asserted that all those, who had been concerned in conducting the Messiah to Adrianople, had been struck dead, and that the son of God had brought them to life again by his infinite goodness. In fine, Nathan and his enthusiasts for several months exerted all their efforts to contradict what had passed at Adrianople ; but Sabbatai began to preach for the Mussulman religion, with as much zeal as he had done for his own, saying that God, who had permitted him to be the instrument of an imposture, was pleased to make use of him to confute it. Nathan was soon obliged to take to flight. His disciples diminished every year, and time dispersed all these clouds.

The disorders which Sabbatai Sevi had caused in the empire, had not deterred Kiuperli from his design of conducting in person great forces into the isle of Candia, to endeavour to terminate the war which had lingered so long between the Porte and the Venetians. The rendezvous of this numerous and brilliant army was ordered at Thebes, where the odas of janissaries, the topggis, levantis, and timarians, repaired to the number of more than a hundred thousand fighting men. The grand vizier, before he put to sea, sent for the Venetian agent to the place of rendezvous to make new proposals of peace to him. This minister, who had been secretary to the last ambassador, who died in captivity as we have already related, died himself on his way

J.C. 1666. from Constantinople to Thebes: he, who acted  
Heg. 1077.

as secretary to the Venetian ambassador, not being charged with any power, desired time to write to the republic and receive new orders. In this interval the Ottoman forces put

J.C. 1667. to sea from Malvasia in the spring of the year  
Heg. 1077,  
& 1078. 1667. The fleet was so large, that the Venetians

The grand vizier goes with a considerable army to besiege Candia. did not think themselves strong enough to dispute the passage. The proveditor Morosini, who acted as viceroy of Candia, and the marquis of Ville, a Piedmontese, who commanded the troops there, had made so many new fortifications, that the port was become absolutely inaccessible. They had procured for the defence of this important place a great number of volunteers of all nations, and particularly French, whom the peace which reigned in Europe invited to seek glory against the Infidels. The Order of Malta sent several galleys to Candia, carrying a great number of knights and soldiers. Lewis XIV. granted the Venetians a succour of seven thousand men; the duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, conducted them in person. The land forces were commanded by the duke of Navailles. We find a number of illustrious names among more than a thousand French noblemen and gentlemen who would fain take part in the perils of this siege, such as Dailly, Montbrun, d'Harcourt, Langeron, Montausier, Choiseuil, Caderousse, Villemore, Château-Thierry, Saint-Pol, Novion, de Tresme, &c. The duke of Lafeuillade put himself at

the

the head of two hundred gentlemen, whom he conducted thither and kept at his own expence. The Candian war has been compared to that of Troy: it resembles it in its length, and in the obstinacy of the last siege, which lasted two years and some months, and was one of the most bloody mentioned in history. The Venetians had carried the art of mines to its utmost height, and some excellent engineers had had time to secure the weak places. As the port of Candia was quite open, the town was succoured by numbers of volunteers, who arrived from all parts, and by all sorts of provisions and ammunition, which the republic, the pope, and the other Italian powers, sent in abundance. The bravery of the Turks, who surrounded the town on every side, forced the garrison to a continual defence, but could not famish it. Whole battalions of janissaries, topggis, and levantis, after having succeeded in assaults very bloody on both sides, were blown up by a mine on the work which they had just conquered. New intrenchments were raised almost suddenly behind the heaps of stones; Candia seemed to spring up anew from its ashes. Whilst they were in the heat of the first attacks, the secretary of the Venetian embassy, called Javarina, who had received powers from his republic to go and treat with the grand vizier, arrived in a saick in one of the ports which the Turks occupied; he sent to desire a security for his person, and obtained it prior to

J.C. 1667.  
Heg. 1077,  
& 1078.

**J.C. 1667.** his entering. His arrival made them believe  
**Heg. 1077,** that he had brought proposals for a peace. The  
**& 1078.** fire was stopped on both sides for some hours;  
 but this new minister having no other instructions  
 from his masters than to hear the propositions of  
 the Turks, to send home an account of them, and  
 to endeavour to bear with patience and resolution  
 the bad treatment which he might experience,  
 hostilities were recommenced with more fury  
 than ever.

Embassy  
 from Po-  
 land. How  
 received.

Whilst torrents of blood were shedding before  
 the capital of the isle of Candia, the sultan re-  
 ceived an embassy at Adrianople from the king  
 and republic of Poland, who demanded satisfac-  
 tion for an irruption made into their country by  
 an army of Tartars. The instructions of the  
 ambassador were, that if he could not obtain  
 justice of the grand seignior, to engage that  
 prince to remain neuter in the war which  
 Poland might have with the Tartars. The  
 Turks shewed much haughtiness to this mini-  
 ster, whose master did not appear formidable to  
 them. The caimacan made the Polish minister  
 wait a long time for his audience, and gave him  
 but little hopes of success in the negociation  
 which he was charged with. The ambassador,  
 called Radioufski, who was far advanced in age,  
 being admitted, after much delay, to an audience  
 of the grand seignior, spoke with great dignity  
 of the Polish power, the resentment of the in-  
 juries which it had received, and the resolution  
 of

of the king his master to be signally revenged of the Tartars, if the sultan did not think fit to repress them. The noble liberty of the Pole displeased Mahomet IV. so much, that he was taken away without having received his highness's answer. The caimacan having spoken to him, as he came out, with the haughtiness which the Ottomans affect to Christians, when they think they have no occasion to be afraid of them, the ambassador answered, that he would not suffer an insult, and that the happiest thing that could happen to an old man like him, would be to die in defending the honor and dignity of his prince and country. On this spirited reply, they prepared to arrest Radioufski. The old ambassador defended himself with a force above his age; he killed several chiaus who attempted to lay hands on him; but at length he was overcome by number, and shut up in his palace, where he died, a very few days after, of a fever, occasioned by the excess of his rage. The secretary of the embassy continued the negociation, which could not be expected to be successful; they sent him back, after having declared to him, that if the Poles wished to live in peace with the sultan, they must, first, not expect any satisfaction from the Tartars for the hostilities which they had received; secondly, leave the Cossacks, who had 'till then been their vassals, under the protection of the Turks, who would from thenceforward consider them as theirs; thirdly, make war with the Muscovites;

fourthly-

J.C. 1667.  
Heg. 1077,  
& 1078.

J.C. 1667.  
Heg. 1077,  
& 1078. fourthly and lastly, grant the Turkish merchants full liberty in Poland, be accountable to them for what they had lost there, and make them entire satisfaction. Such an answer, and the treatment received by the ambassador, one should have supposed, would have occasioned a bloody war; but the weakness of king Casimir prevented him from taking any advantage of the Ottoman forces being employed in the conquest of Candia. The illustrious Sobieski, at that time petty general of Poland, forced the Tartars to solicit peace. The resentment of the Poles did not break out 'till several years after, when the Turks came themselves to attack them. For the three last years of the Candian expedition, all the efforts of the Porte were directed against this single object. The number of men destroyed in this siege, and the immense sums which it cost, caused fleets to be continually put to sea. Kiuperli, who did as he pleased, was resolved to add the isle of Candia to the other possessions of the Ottoman empire. His own consequence would not permit him to give up an enterprize that had cost him so much blood. Meanwhile the caimacan Mustapha, his creature and brother-in-law, governed at Constantinople; but this minister, who was afterward as powerful as Kiuperli had been, experienced a number of contradictions, before the bashaws, effendis, and officers of the empire, were accustomed to obey him.

An unjust order, to which he put the seal of the empire, was like to throw the prince and caimacan into one of those precipices which frequently open under the feet of monarchs, when they think that their pleasure, let it be what it will, must always be justice. The French merchants had brought into the ports of the Levant a little silver coin of the value of two-pence half-penny sterling; the Turks found it so pretty and convenient, that they would sell their merchandise cheaper, provided they were paid in themins (that was the name given to these pieces in the different ports). As the Turkish money is rather scarce, almost every kind of foreign coin is current in those ports, and the Turks prefer those of the gold and silver that are of least value. The themins pleased the Turks to such a degree, that they would not trade with any other money. They often refused to give their merchandise in exchange for French cloths and trinkets. Those, who did not bring themins, were not well received in the ports of the East. As there were not enough in France to furnish all the factories, and government had forbidden the carrying of money out of the kingdom, some French and Dutch merchants contrived to make them in copper, which were only covered with silver; they carried a great quantity of these false themins into the Levant, which were received with avidity: the Turks, who are very simple and indolent, did not perceive this fraud

\*till

J.C. 1668.  
Heg. 1079.

Troubles  
on account  
of the-  
mins.

J.C. 1668;  
Heg. 1079.

until a good while after, whether the copper appeared under the silver which wore away, or because the Frank merchants refused to take these themins which they had brought themselves. As there was an immense quantity of them in circulation, they were become the money most current; but, in a very short time, they were so cried down, that it was very difficult to get any one to take them but at a considerable loss; so that, instead of being a coin of a certain value, they became a precarious commodity, in which people were frequently deceived in endeavouring to discover the good themins from the bad, and among the latter more or less alloy. By these numerous inconveniencies commerce became almost impracticable. The grand seignior, or rather the caimacan, caused a catcherif to be published, which ordered that all the themins should be taken in payment at their reputed value. This inconsiderate decree interrupted all commerce with foreigners immediately, as they would rather carry back their merchandise, than receive copper in payment for silver. But this became still worse, when the clerks of the revenue refused these themins, in the name of the emperor, and had those beaten or put in prison who brought them only this money in payment. In several provinces the defterdars were massacred and torn to pieces by the populace. One day, the janissaries that were in garrison at Adrianople absolutely refused to receive



receive their pay in themins, and threatened to go and seek the emperor in the plains where his love of hunting drew him continually. Mustapha caimacan dreaded the consequences of a mutiny occasioned by his imprudence; he immediately ordered all the themins to be carried to the mint, and the proprietors to be paid their real value. This order did not satisfy those who had received this money by order of government, still less the troops, who had been several times paid with this counterfeit coin. It was necessary to satisfy the soldiers, whose clamours might prove dangerous. Their themins were received indifferently at the mint as if they had been of the best metal, and the public treasury sustained the loss. But as the weakest are always the victims of anarchy, the themins of individuals not belonging to any great man of the Porte or any military body, were exchanged at the mint for their intrinsic value. Thus Mustapha, who had wanted the necessary prudence to prevent these disorders, had at least the good sense to appease them.

All these disturbances had not escaped the ears of the grand seignior, whose policy principally consisted in keeping himself out of town in order to save his head from the rage of the malecontents; perhaps he owed his throne and life to the siege of Candia, which employed all the heroes and choice of the Ottoman troops. This prince, as cruel as timid, having heard that the name of

The Sultan makes another attempt on the lives of his brothers.

J.C. 1698.  
Heg. 1079.

his brother Solyman had been mentioned in some of the commotions which had arisen on account of the themins, resolved, for the second time, to rid himself of a dangerous rival, as likewise of Achmet his second brother, who might become equally dangerous in his turn. Though the valid sultaneſs had already opposed this barbarous design, Mahomet IV. made no difficulty of writing to her again on the subject. He endeavoured to prove to her, that the death of the two princes was become necessary, as if this necessity could be a matter of opinion; that his mother must be convinced of it; and that this double affassination was only a wise precaution, which the valid sultaneſs could not blame when better informed. The emperor's letter, addressed to sultaneſs Tourhane, who was then at Constantinople with the two princes, struck her with that horror which a tender mother must necessarily feel, on seeing the danger to which her two sons were exposed, and the barbarity of their brother. She sent the two princes out of the seraglio, and having called the mufti, the caimacan of Constantinople, the commander of some janissaries who guarded this capital, the boſtangi pachi, and all the chiefs of the different corps, she declared to them that she would sooner die than suffer one of her sons to dip his hands in the blood of the rest; that Mahomet had himself but one son, very young and exceedingly weakly; and that justice, policy, and nature, equally opposed

posed this cruelty. Her oratory had such an effect on those to whom she spoke, that they all swore to defend the princes at the peril of their lives. In a little time the shops of Constantinople were shut, and after the garrison had taken their arms, the citizens, to the number of more than forty thousand, armed themselves likewise. The danger of the two princes being removed by the general outcry, they returned to Constantinople almost as soon as they had left it, as they could not be safer any where than in the capital of the empire, which had declared for them; and as there was no enemy to fight, nor any principal officers required to be deposed or put to death, this riot was soon over. Neither Solyman nor Achmet attempted to take advantage of the favor of the people to execute on Mahomet the treatment which the latter had intended for them. The emperor was left quiet in the mountains, which he overran every day, amidst armies of peasants that he levied continually to fight the wild beasts.

J.C. 1668.  
Heg. 1079.

They es-  
cape.

A war more bloody was carrying on in Candia. The Turks had so fortified themselves in their camp in the two years which the siege had lasted, and the town had been so constantly battered by a numerous artillery, that it might be said the Turks inhabited a flourishing town, and the Venetians had pitched their camp behind some heaps of rubbish. What had been customary in the crusades was again practised in this siege:

J.C. 1669.  
Heg. 1080.

Siege of  
Candia.

J.C. 1669.  
Heg. 1080.

monks and priests, carrying the cross for a standard, would conduct troops to the most dangerous places, take bastions, and die on the place which they had conquered. Often in the space of one day the same post would change masters three or four times, and each time be sprinkled with blood. The duke of Beaufort,\* admiral of France, perished in one of these assaults, with more than six hundred noblemen and gentlemen of his nation. The duke of Navailles, who commanded under him the succours sent by Lewis XIV. brought back the broken remains of them before the end of the siege, by the orders of his court, which he shewed, and which no one could discover the motive of. The reciprocal discontent that this occasioned between the French and Venetians was one of the causes of the capitulation. A hundred and ten thousand Turks had perished before Candia, for the army had been entirely renewed since the commencement of the siege. They counted thirty-one thousand Christians of different nations killed in the place. The French had promised a fresh succour of men and money, which in fact had sailed from Toulon in four vessels. A Greek Christian, called Panajot, who was druggerman to the Porte, made use of a base treachery to prevail on the Venetians to put an end to the carnage by the surrender of Candia. Since the retreat of the marquis of Ville, whom his master the duke

A druggerman of the Porte presses the Venetians to capitulate, on a supposition that the French were sending succours to the Turks.

of

\* It has never been known what became of his dead body.

of Savoy had recalled, it was the marquis of Saint André-Montbrun, a French nobleman, that commanded in Candia under the proveditor Morosini: This general had performed miracles for the defence of the place with those of his countrymen who, not composing part of the regular troops under the command of the duke of Navailles, had not been forced to retire with him; however, all the Italians had conceived a secret hatred against the French, which the hopes of an approaching succour could hardly make them dissemble. Panajot had spies in the town, and was well informed of what passed there; he secretly obtained permission from the grand vizier to confer with the Venetians, and wrote to the proveditor Morosini, by a disguised slave, that his attachment to the Christian religion and his veneration for the brave men who had so long and so vigorously defended Candia, induced him to communicate some advice to him of great importance; that they must confer together, and that they could both repair in disguise to a by-cavern which he mentioned. Morosini repaired without mistrust to the place where Panajot was waiting for him. This perfidious Greek, after the strongest protestations of zeal, declared to the proveditor, that the grand vizier had given him a letter from the French minister to translate; that this dispatch contained a positive promise to send those succours to the Turks which his master had intended for the Venetians, assuring him that

J.C. 1669.  
Heg. 1080.

J.C. 1669. that Lewis XIV. was very sorry for having re-  
 Heg. 1080.  
 tarded the taking of Candia by his auxiliary  
 forces; that, for the future, he should think only  
 how to facilitate it, and that the grand seignior  
 might depend on having all the troops and am-  
 munition which the Venetians vainly expected  
 from a prince who would rather see the Turks  
 masters of Candia, than a republic which he  
 should soon be obliged to go to war with himself.  
 Though this proceeding was beyond all proba-  
 bility, and it could never be supposed that Lewis  
 XIV., how much soever he might be believed  
 the enemy of the Venetians, would have suc-  
 coured the Turks in the face of all Christendom  
 so interested against them, Panajot had the ad-  
 dress to make the proveditor believe this im-  
 posture, who returned to his ruins, enraged at  
 the supposed treachery of the French. Those,  
 to whom he imparted what Panajot had told  
 him, refused to believe it, when they perceived  
 at a distance six vessels carrying the French flag,  
 which assured their being such by firing a broad-  
 side. The Venetians did not know that these  
 same vessels had left the port occupied by the  
 Turks the preceding night; and though their  
 form and ornaments plainly discovered them to  
 belong to the Porte, the besieged saw only the  
 white flags and some sailors dressed in the French  
 manner who worked the vessels. This sight re-  
 joiced the soldiers, who did not doubt that this  
 was a succour; but when this little fleet entered  
 the

Artifice to  
 give credit  
 to this im-  
 position.

the Turks' port, consternation spread among the few defenders that remained in Candia; they were hardly three thousand, and this number decreased every instant. The next day Panajot obtained a fresh conference of the proveditor; and, after having asked him, if he had not seen with his own eyes every thing that he had told him, he gave him a letter from the grand vizier, full of marks of the most perfect esteem, who promised him a capitulation, both advantageous and honorable, if he would abandon the spot where the town of Candia had been, a spot that could no longer be defended, and which could not serve as a place of shelter, even for the small number of inhabitants that remained there. The proveditor having reported these proposals to his council, almost all were for abandoning Candia, after having blown up or burnt what remained of fortifications and houses, and for taking advantage of the port's being open, to embark the few inhabitants and soldiers, whom it were better to transport to Italy, than to expose to the barbarity and want of faith of the Turks. But, not only the number of their vessels was insufficient to execute this transportation, but the Venetians and Candians, who should have thus fled, would most probably have been taken in their passage by the Turkish fleet cruising in different squadrons on the coast of the island and that of Italy. Moreover, the execution of this project was very perilous for those whom they wished to save; the mines necessary

J.C. 1669.  
Heg. 1080.

Capitulation of  
Candia.

J.C. 1669.  
Heg. 1080.

cessary could not be digged without much time, labour, and bloodshed; and it was very difficult to blow up so many heaps of stones all at once, without the greater part of the men, pent up in a rather small place, being crushed by their fall. At length the sagest of the council demonstrated that this action so brilliant in appearance would be a real loss for the republic, as it would only inflame the war, diminish their forces, and leave at the mercy of an enraged enemy the garrisons of Suda, Carabusa, and Spinalonga, three small places which still held for the Venetians. After a mature deliberation, it was decided, that Morosini should make use of the power which he had recently received from his republic, to endeavour to conclude an honorable peace. The length and ardour of this siege had founded between the two parties a mutual esteem, which contributed greatly to facilitate the capitulation. The Turks, still more humbled than irritated at a resistance for twenty-nine months, thought that the glory of the Ottoman empire depended on a speedy reduction of Candia. They pressed Kiuperli to conclude the treaty which was in his hands; for they did not suppose that the besieged would refuse honorable conditions. The spahi agasi and Achmet bashaw, who acted as lieutenant-generals of the army, were sent, as likewise the interpreter Panajot, to confer with two Venetian officers to whom Morosini had given instructions. They found them under tents prepared



pared on purpose at the gate of the town. The length of the debates gave both parties equal reason to fear that the negotiation would not succeed. The Venetians were bent on keeping the three places that they had still in the island, which, though no considerable ports, the republic would not give up, as the senate of Venice was unwilling to renounce the 'isle of Candia entirely. Kiuperli, seeing the impatience of the army, and knowing how much the emperor Mahomet wished to put an end to the war, at length gave up this article.

The treaty thus agreed on between the four deputies of the two armies was soon ratified by their chiefs. They took twelve days for its execution, by virtue of which all the prisoners and slaves were given up on both sides. As soon as the truce was announced, hostages were mutually given. When the vessels belonging to the Christians were full, the grand vizier furnished some for those citizens that had not been able to find a place in them. Some janissaries, having, in contempt of the treaty, presumed to charge the guards of a post that was not yet given up, were punished with death. Kiuperli sent magnificent presents to Morosini, who would not receive them, for fear of being accused of having sold Candia. He accepted all the refreshments which were furnished in abundance for him and his people, and was highly satisfied with the fidelity and humanity of Kiuperli. Pursuant to

J.C. 1669;  
Heg. 1080.

The Venetians evacuated Candia.

the articles of the treaty, the Venetians carried away all the artillery that they had brought into Candia during the siege; that which had defended the place before the war they left behind. The Christians loaded the vessels lent by the Turks, not only with arms and ammunition, which they were permitted to do by the treaty, but likewise with bells, church-ornaments, a large quantity of gold and silver plate, and all the valuable things that they were able to remove, the Turks; who were restrained by their chiefs, not making any attempt to pillage or hinder the carrying away of these riches. All those, who had survived the bloody operations of this siege, soldiers, citizens, women, and children, took advantage of the permission to leave the place; so much so, that, when they were embarked, no more than thirty inhabitants were left in the ruins of Candia. The grand vizier made a triumphal entry into this vast solitude, which presented no other idea than that of destruction. He went into the principal church, just converted into a mosque, to return thanks to God for his triumph, and from thence to the palace that Morosini had inhabited; he gave the troops a sort of military festival, and had his fleet ranged in the port which the Venetians had left a few days before. Morosini and his people had retired to the little port of Suda to wait for the ratification of the treaty sent to the senate of Venice. They there received too late  
the

the six French vessels which the perfidious Panajot had assured them were intended for the Turks, and which they thought they had seen enter their port.

J.C. 1669.  
Heg. 1080.

Meanwhile Kiuperli sent back his troops to the different ports of Asia, in squadrons which he separately dispatched; but he kept the pioneers and workmen necessary to repair the ruins of Candia. Though the multitude of dead bodies had infected the air, the attention of the grand vizier prevented a pestilence, and in a short time restored to this climate, which is one of the happiest in Europe, all its salubrity. This town, which might be called a new one, did not want inhabitants. These edifices, raised almost as soon as they had been demolished, were presently filled with Greek merchants (for whom Panajot obtained a church), and some Mahometan soldiers but meanly circumstanced in their own country, who found a plentiful subsistence in this island. Kiuperli was desirous of being a witness of this sort of colonization; believing his presence as necessary for rebuilding this place as it had been to destroy it, he staid in Candia the remainder of the year 1669 and the beginning of the following one.

Kiuperli is occupied in rebuilding and re-peopling Candia.

The news of this peace filled Adrianople, Constantinople, and all the Ottoman empire, with joy; but what is beyond all probability, and which 'till then had never happened, the messengers dispatched to Mahomet IV. sought him a long

J.C. 1670.  
Heg. 1081.

J.C. 1670.  
Heg. 1082.

They seek  
the empe-  
ror, who  
had lost his  
way in the  
chase, to  
inform  
him of the  
taking of  
Candia.

Embassy  
from Eng-  
land to  
renew the  
treaties,

time without being able to find him, because no one knew where the ardour of the chase had carried him. Though the Eastern manners do not permit the Ottoman emperor to separate from his numerous retinue, or to lay aside the pomp which assures him the almost idolatrous veneration of his people, and that after the reiterated attempts of Mahomet to put his brothers to death, it might be dangerous for him to lay himself so open to their vengeance, his predominant passion had made him forget his prudence. He had wandered from Salonichi, where he had passed several days, into a thick forest; and his most intimate officers had lost all traces of him. After seeking him a long time, they found the sultan in a peasant's cottage, where he had retired without presuming to discover himself, for fear of falling a sacrifice to hatred or avarice. On his return to Salonichi, where he ordered great rejoicings for the taking of Candia, the emperor received an ambassador from England, who came to solicit the ratification of the treaties made between his nation and the Porte. Though Mahomet IV. granted this minister every thing that he asked, the caimacan, Mustapha, who equally respected and feared Kiuperli his brother-in-law, told the sultan, that it was usual for the grand viziers, and not the caimacans, to conclude the treaties with crowned heads. He prevailed on him to wait for the return of that minister to treat with the English ambassador.

Kiuperli

Kiuperli did not leave Candia 'till the month of May, after having seen the repairs of the town far advanced, and having restored peace and plenteousness to that island, as much as the devastations occasioned by a five and twenty years war would permit. The minister went to Adrianople, where he was received with loud acclamations. No grand vizier had ever been more beloved or more respected than Kiuperli. His whole attention was directed to the public good, without thinking of enriching himself as almost all his predecessors had done. He raised to places, only those whom he believed worthy of them. During his ministry, the janissaries and spahis, heretofore so dangerous and so difficult to keep in order, were as quiet as any of the other troops of the empire, and the more feared by the enemy, because they knew better how to obey their commanders. In the whole course of the year that followed the taking of Candia we do not remark any thing but the solemn ratification of the treaty with the Venetians, and a new prohibition of wine, which Kiuperli maintained with great severity during the remainder of his ministry. It is thought that there was more policy than religion in it. Kiuperli had remarked, as the founder of Islamism had done before him, that the Orientals, being sooner heated than other people, could not bear wine, which is more heady in Asia and the eastern part of Europe than any where else; that a Turk never tasted wine but he

J.C. 1670.  
Heg. 1081.

Return of  
Kiuperli to  
Adrianople.

He reiterates the prohibition of wine.

J.C. 1676.  
Heg. 1681. got drunk, and that this misfortune rendered the subjects of the empire guilty of a number of disorders.

J.C. 1671.  
Heg. 1682. The Venetian ambassador experienced a great deal of difficulty in regulating the limits in Dalmatia. It was agreed, that each state should take what had formerly belonged to it, without paying any regard to the last conquests; but as there had not been between the Turks and Venetians any other law than that of arms, it was always by force that such particular towns or territories had belonged to the power which claimed them. This dispute was not entirely terminated 'till the end of the year 1671. Kiuperli, who was unwilling to recommence hostilities, agreed to give the Venetians the same limits in Dalmatia as they had had in 1576. Clissa was confirmed to the republic to form its frontiers.

Affairs of  
the Cossacks of  
the  
Ukraine.

This same year, Mahomet received at Adrianople where he still was, an embassy very honorable for the Porte, and which announced to Europe and Asia how much this power was respected. The Cossacks of the Ukraine, vassals of the crown of Poland, had been groaning for a long time under the insupportable yoke of the Polish nobles. These people, as warlike as their tyrants, found in their despair resources to repel the injustice. After having carried on a bloody war, they obtained from king Casimir, who was more just and humane than his subjects, conditions which made the Cossacks hope to live in

in future under the protection of treaties; but <sup>J.C. 1671.  
Heg. 1082.</sup> this peace, concluded by equity, was not maintained by authority. The Polish nobles murmured, saying, that their bondmen were raised to be their equals. This state, more republican than monarchial, was less in subjection to the feeble Casimir than it had been formerly to its other kings. The Cossacks were soon obliged to take up their arms again. Having joined the Crimean Tartars, they combated several years with a valour worthy of the cause which they defended; but were at length obliged to yield to number and the military talents of the illustrious Sobieski. King Casimir having abdicated the crown in 1668, the Poles experienced that election is not always a sure way to raise to the throne the princes most worthy of reigning. King Casimir, who had always been accused of weakness, was succeeded by Michael Vieczowiecki, a prince still weaker. Dorozenko, whom the Cossacks had chosen for their ethman, took advantage of the troubles which arose in the new reign, to demand the ratification of the treaty made with king Casimir. The Cossacks declared, that they would no longer continue united to the Poles than they should be considered as their equals, and have entrance and a voice in the diets. This pretension, too contrary to the spirit and interests of the Polish nobility, could not possibly be complied with. Immediately on their being refused, Dorozenko dispatched deputies to  
Adrianople

J.C. 1671.  
Heg. 1082.

They soli-  
cit the  
protection  
of the  
Porte.

Adrianople to put the Ukraine under the protec-  
tion of Mahomet IV. and solicit the tugh and  
other marks of vassalage. Nearly about the  
same time, counts Serin, Nadafti, and Frangipani,  
Hungarians, sent to the grand seignior to request  
succours against Leopold the emperor of the  
West. Kiuperli, well informed of the state of  
Europe and the real interests of the Porte, would  
rather receive the homage of a whole nation  
induced by oppression to change master, than  
support the rebellion of some malecontents, who  
had not a party sufficiently strong to hope to free  
Hungary from the yoke of the house of Austria,  
and who in fact soon after carried their preten-  
sions and hatred on a scaffold. The Hungarians  
did not receive any favorable reply, but Doro-  
zensko obtained every thing that he had asked.

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.

Michael, the new king of Poland, had just sent  
an ambassador to Adrianople to communicate to  
the grand seignior his accession to the throne.  
The Polish minister, called Vissoski, was charged  
to treat with the grand vizier on the affair of the  
Cossacks. This negotiation was without the  
least success. Kiuperli, daily informed of the  
mutual discontents between the king and repub-  
lic, considered the Ukraine as a certain and law-  
ful conquest; and as he thought that these  
people accustomed to inroads and rapine, would  
make, in future, in the country of the Poles, the  
ravage which they had till then committed in  
that of the Turks; he would rather his nation  
should



should have them for tributaries than enemies. J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.  
Spite of the remonstrances of the Polish ambassador, the tugh, sword, and vest of sable, were carried to the ethman from the grand seignior. A fetfa from the musti declared the war against Poland lawful, in case the king and republic refused to grant a lasting peace to the Cossacks, the new allies of the invincible emperor. Kiuperli, who thought himself sure of success in this campaign, prevailed on his master to put himself at the head of his troops, in order to shew the people, that this prince knew how to make war with men as well as with wild beasts.

In effect, Mahomet departed in the spring at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, attended by his grand vizier, whom he could not well do without. He traversed Transylvania and Walachia, and passed the Niester to enter Podolia. Kiuperli meant to lay siege to Kamienieck, the capital of that province, situated on the top of a rock, the foot of which is washed by a river, and more fortified by nature than by art. When the news arrived in Poland that the Turks had Mahomet  
departs at  
the head of  
his troops. attacked this place, king Michael, who was himself threatened to be deposed by the principal members of the republic, had just put himself under the protection of the nobility and gentry of the lower rank, whom he had assembled in the plains of Culm, on the borders of the Vistula, in the palatine of Lublin. There, a hundred thousand noblemen and gentlemen, badly armed, Troubles  
in Poland.

J.C. 1672. furrounded the king that they had chosen.  
 Heg. 1083.

This multitude, without discipline or plan of operation, and without any other commander than the master whom they wished to defend, who was incapable of leading them, was all confusion and disorder. Whilst Sobieski, the soul of the opposite party, at that time grand-general of the kingdom, assembled thirty thousand good troops at Lowicz in the palatine of Rava, Michael, at the head of a hundred thousand men, did not think himself strong enough to repress those whom he called rebels; he would rather endeavour to get them assassinated. A price was set on the heads of Sobieski and the primate of Poland by the monarch in the proclamation which proscribed these two generals; Michael pretended to screen those who should attempt their lives from the infamous character which justice, more powerful than the law, has stamped on the face of every assassin. The officers and soldiers of the Polish army swore solemnly to defend their commanders: "I accept your oaths," replied Sobieski to them, "but, before any thing else, we must defend our country." Such was the state of Poland, when Mahomet, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Turks, came to lay siege to Kamienieck.

The governor of Kamienieck refuses a succour sent by Sobieski.

The grand general Sobieski had sent eight thousand of his best troops to strengthen the garrison of Kamienieck; but the governor, quite devoted to the king of Poland, refused to receive those

those troops who came to defend the place, lest Sobieski should become more master there than himself. It was scarcely possible but a nation so divided must be overcome; Sobieski however exerted all his efforts to serve those who had sworn his destruction. A hundred thousand Tartars, armed under their khan Selim Gerai, had received orders from Mahomet to ravage Poland during the siege of the capital of Podolia. The Tartarian sovereign divided his hundred thousand men into three bodies; he retained the command of the most considerable himself, and gave the two others to his sons Meradin and Galga. Meradin had the temerity to march his troops directly between the two Polish camps, of which king Michael commanded the most numerous, and Sobieski the most formidable; the alarm was so great in the Culm camp, that this numerous body of nobility and gentry dispersed in less than two days, without its being possible to retain two thousand gentlemen around the king, out of the one hundred thousand that he had. Even Michael did not believe himself in safety, 'till the ditches and walls of Lublin were between the Tartars and him. Sobieski, seeing his persecutors take to flight, prepared to serve his country; he came up with Meradin, and, with an army less numerous, defeated him: the Tartars, once repulsed, never return to the charge. Galga, the khan's second son, fearing to be vanquished like his brother,

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.

The grand  
general of  
Poland  
beats the  
Tartars in  
several en-  
gagements.

The fright  
disperes  
the army  
of king  
Michael.

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083

kept along by the Niefter, in order to rejoin the army of Selim Gerai; Sobieski found means to conceal his march from the Tartar, came up with him, and vanquished and pursued him with the Polish cavalry as far as the corps of troops commanded by Selim Gerai. The khan of the Tartars had met nothing but booty on his way; his march was retarded by a multitude of slaves of both sexes and of all ages, whom he was dragging after him, and by innumerable flocks which he had taken in the desolated plains. This prey took from him the desire of engaging the vanquisher of his two sons. Sobieski had time to reassemble the Polish army, which the pursuit of the enemy had dispersed; and as the Polish general had a perfect knowledge of the country which the khan was overrunning at hazard, he lay wait for him in some narrow passes that the Tartar had to pass, and which took from him the advantage of number; this was at the foot of the Calpate mountains in a place called Kaus: the battle was so bloody, that, in less than four hours, fifteen thousand Tartars lay stretched on the earth; their chief fled, as likewise all his squadrons, who abandoned their booty. Sobieski had the inexpressible pleasure of taking the fetters from thirty thousand Poles to load their conquerors with them, and to restore to his unfortunate countrymen one part of the property which had been wrested from them.

Whilst

Whilst this great man was repairing, as much J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083. as lay in him, the misfortunes of his country, that king Michael was trembling within the walls of Lublin, and that all these nobles, who had pretended so much fidelity, were dispersed to such a degree that one would have thought them hidden under the earth, Kamienieck surrendered Surrender  
of Ka-  
minieck. to the emperor of the Turks. The governor, who had refused to receive soldiers for the defence of the place, had permitted a multitude of women, old men, children, monks, and bondmen of all ages, to enter, who furnished the town without being of the least service.

Not only this troublesome multitude consumed the provisions, but they even corrupted the air; for, filling up a small space, the continual fire and the shivers of bombs killed still more of these miserable refugees than of the soldiers. The garrison, which amounted at least to eight thousand men, was no way seconded by this crowd of feeble, timid people, whom fear alone had driven into Kamienieck. The operations of the siege were pushed with the greatest vigour; at length, he, who had employed near three years in the taking of Candia, made himself master of Kamienieck in less than a month, by the confession of the historians who prolong this siege the most; but others assert that it held out only twelve days. The garrison hoped to be able to defend themselves some time longer in the citadel; but Kiuperli offered them the alternative, of retiring with

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.

with their arms and baggage into the inner part of Poland, or of being put to the sword. The fortrefs soon surrendered: the officer who commanded there under the governor, overcome with grief and transported with rage, blew up a redoubt in which he had assembled some brave fellows; he there perished with them after the capitulation was signed, at the very time that the Turks advanced to take possession of the place. Mahomet wanted to construe this catastrophe into an infringement of treaty; but Kiuperli represented to him, that the authors of this supposed act of hostility had been punished by it. The townsmen had been promised their lives, liberties, and property, and Mahomet IV. was faithful to his word. The Poles grieved to see the grand seignior ride into the principal church, and convert it into a mosque, as likewise all the others, except one which was left the Christians. Mahomet, being master of Kaminieck, sent garrisons into the different towns of the Ukraine which held for the Cossacks; then advancing into the inner part of Poland, he pitched his camp at Boudchaz, from whence he detached forty thousand men, under the command of Capelan bashaw, governor of Aleppo, to lay siege to Leopoldstadt.

Discipline  
established  
by Kiuperli.

The march of the Turks in Poland resembled that of well disciplined troops in their own country. Kiuperli restrained these soldiers by severity, who 'till then had thought pillage, not only a right, but an essential part of war. The grand vizier

vizier carried his rigour to such a height, that he had several of the janissaries put to death who had been convicted of stealing vegetables in the houses that lay along their route; and it was remarked by the officers, that chastisements had never been more rare, or provisions in greater plenty. The grand vizier sent parties to put the villages and towns near the army under contribution. The magazines, disposed at equal distances, received what the parties brought, which was divided between the troops on a day appointed for that purpose. There never had been an example, 'till Kiuperli, of such order in the Ottoman armies.

Leopoldstadt made but little resistance. The news soon arrived, that it had surrendered to Capellan bashaw on the same conditions that Kaminięck had to Mahomet. King Michael, who kept within the walls of Lublin, learned at the same time the loss of Leopoldstadt and Sobieski's victories over the Tartars; these two events so different caused him equal chagrin. Feeble souls cannot help being jealous. Michael would rather have lost Poland than have seen it saved by Sobieski. Having learned that this great man had increased his army with new levies; that he was advancing towards Boudchaz camp, and that he longed to try his talents against Kiuperli, Michael hastened to conclude a peace. He sent the khan of the Tartars, who is a prince feudatory to the Porte, a power to act as mediator between Mahomet

Taking of  
Leopold-  
stadt.

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.

Peace agreed on by  
Michael  
between  
the Poles  
and Turks.

IV. and him. The Turks took advantage of the troubles of Poland and the weakness of the king. Selim Gerai the khan was empowered to accept any terms for Michael, provided the grand seignior confirmed to him the title of monarch, which the most numerous and respectable part of his subjects refused him. The treaty of peace was signed at Boudchaz camp; the Poles gave up Kamienieck and all Podolia; the king of Poland renounced likewise his pretensions to the Ukraine, acknowledging the Cossacks for vassals of the Ottoman empire, and, by an article still more mortifying, obliged Poland to pay an annual tribute of twenty thousand rix dollars to the Porte. However ignominious this condition might be, Michael would rather swallow the disgrace of it, than leave Sobieski an opportunity of acquiring more glory, and of strengthening his party against him. The king of Poland promised more than he could perform; he had no right to subject the republic to a tribute without the consent of the diet, as, in all circumstances, the consent of that assembly is necessary both to declare war and conclude peace. But Kiuperli, satisfied with having added a province to the dominions of his master, and with having pretty well stirred up the fire of discord among his neighbours, brought back Mahomet and his troops triumphant to Constantinople, leaving in Podolia and the Ukraine the necessary forces to keep the new conquests in subjection, as likewise the Cossacks



sacks, who were not perfectly obedient to their  
ethman.

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.

After the rejoicings in Constantinople on account of Mahomet's successes, which were celebrated with great magnificence, the divan turned their attention to a rebellion that had broken out in Tripoli. The bashaw of that province was become a sort of sovereign. For a long time past, neither cadis nor defterdars had been sent to Tripoli; the sums annually sent to the treasury of Constantinople were a real tribute. The bashaw gave no account of prizes; the places received no garrisons; the bashaw paid the troops levied for the guard of the port with the taxes which he himself laid on, and he had a right to divide with the corsairs the booty made by sea. This advantage incited one Osman, whom Kiuperli had made bashaw of Tripoli, to abuse it. His avarice persuaded him that all the prizes made by the corsairs ought to be at his disposal; he left them such a trifling profit, that the owners seemed to scour the sea, only to enrich their bashaw. These repeated injustices caused several complaints to be made to the divan. The emperor and grand vizier were at that time occupied with affairs of more serious consequence than the division of booty between pirates. The Tripolines could not obtain any redress from the Porte, and Osman bashaw became more rapacious through impunity. Injustice in the end generally produces an insurrection. The Tripolines, who had

Tripoli  
becomes a  
republic.

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.

several times complained to no purpose, forced the bashaw one day to take shelter in the citadel, where they besieged him, took him prisoner, and put him to death: after which the chiefs of the conspiracy resolved to assume the same government as Algiers. The people elected a dey, and established a sort of senate; and when their republic was a little settled, they sent deputies to Mahomet to solicit a confirmation of it, offering to increase the tribute which the Turkish bashaw had 'till then paid his master. Their deputies were ordered to intimate, that the Tripolines would have no objection to have an Ottoman bashaw at the head of their republic, provided he had no more power than that of Algiers. Kiuperli, satisfied with the steady and circumspect conduct of these people, readily advised his master to grant all their requests, as they were advantageous for the Porte. A bashaw was sent to Tripoli with the same instructions as that at Algiers, that is, to represent the Ottoman emperor, the protector of the republic, and watch over the commercial interests of the immediate subjects of the grand seignior.

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

Renewal of  
the treaties be-  
tween the  
Porte and  
France.

In the beginning of the following year, Mr. Denointel, the French ambassador, concluded an advantageous treaty for his nation, but which in fact was only a piece of justice that the Turks had refused his predecessors. When the first treaties were made with France, that power, which was the first that treated with the Turks, granted

a duty

a duty of five per cent. to the Porte on all merchandise that should be brought into the different sea ports. Since this, Holland and England had likewise desired to treat; and, in order to diminish the commerce of the French, who were accused of abusing the privileges that had been granted them, these mercantile people had sent stuffs into the Levant of a better quality, manufactured with more care, and which they sold cheaper than the French used to sell theirs. The favorable reception which particularly the English cloths and the Dutch linens had throughout the Levant, procured the manufacturers of these two nations conditions at three per cent. for their merchandise, whilst the French continued to pay five according to their treaty. Messrs. Lahaye, seignior and junior, in the course of their embassies, had never been able to procure a reformation of this disproportion; but the regulations introduced into the French manufactures by the minister Colbert, having constrained the manufacturer to furnish stuffs of a better quality, the French cloths and other merchandise recovered their credit in all the factories. The victories too of Lewis XIV. and the consideration which that monarch had acquired throughout Europe, made the Turks look on him as a formidable adversary for the house of Austria, whom it was of great consequence for them to conciliate. The treaty concluded by Mr. Denointel related to two principal objects: commerce, and the liberty of the

J.C. 1673  
Heg. 1084

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

Roman catholic religion in the Levant. The Roman catholic monks had experienced for many years back more difficulties, and even persecutions, from the Greek Christians than the Musulmen. These Greeks, who are born subjects of the grand seignior, have a patriarch at Constantinople, who receives the pastoral staff and the ring from the hands of the sultan. They are tolerated more voluntarily in the dominions of this prince, than the Roman catholic Christians; they have had the address to cause the latter to be regarded as the enemies, not only of the worship, but of the power of the Turks, because, they say, they are immediate subjects of a foreign prince, who is the pope. In this manner the Greeks had found means to get possession of the Holy places, both at Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Though, since the crusades, the Holy sepulchre and the other places, consecrated by the birth and death of Jesus Christ, had belonged to the Roman catholics, the Greeks, having taken advantage of the power of the bashaws, had driven the Romish monks from the churches built by them on this territory, and extorted money with great avidity from the Latin pilgrims drawn by devotion to the cradle of their faith. In the treaty which Mr. Denointel concluded in the name of Lewis XIV. it was stipulated, that the church of the Holy sepulchre, usurped by the Greeks, should be restored to the Latins; that the French, and all the other Christians who might

might go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, should not be molested in any part of Turkey; that the churches of Galata and Pera, belonging to the French, should be rebuilt in case of fire; that the French should be permitted to make wine in their own houses, and to sell it to those who were not Mussulmen; that the duties in future should be reduced to three per cent., and the merchandise that should have once paid it in any factory should not be obliged to pay it again in another; and finally, that all disputes that should arise with respect to commerce between the French consuls and the officers of the Porte should be decided in open divan, provided the object were not less than four thousand aspers. This treaty, concluded and signed, to the great satisfaction of all the French merchants and Romish monks who lived in the dominions of the grand seignior, had a full execution for every thing that respected commerce; but the restitution of the Holy places suffered a number of difficulties from the avidity of the bashaws and cadis of Palestine, who constantly favoured the Greeks in return for the considerable sums which they continually received from them. What greatly flattered the French ambassador, and which taught the other Franks how much Lewis XIV. was esteemed in the Levant, was the permission granted this minister to visit the ports where the French had factories. Mr. Denointel received great honors from the bashaws of the different places where he

went

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

J.C. 1673  
Heg. 1084

went to carry the orders of the king of France. This visit was without example since the foundation of the Ottoman empire; the ministers of Christian powers had often been prisoners in their palaces at Constantinople, but had never exercised a jurisdiction over the subjects of their masters, scattered up and down the provinces of the empire.

Kiuperli had too great an insight into things not to preserve the grand seignior such an ally as the king of France, especially as he saw the necessity of watching the frontiers bordering on the Austrian dominions. This glorious peace made so recently with Poland, was far from being well secured. Kiuperli had depended on the divisions between the monarch and the republic, which were become less violent. The feeble Michael, obliged to give way to the great reputation of Sobieski, to the power of his party, and particularly to the superiority of his talents, had sent to compliment and invite to a diet of pacification, this man whom he had proscribed some months before. The grand general appeared in this assembly, where the king humbled himself before subjects that he had been unable to reduce. Sobieski exclaimed loudly against what he termed the infamous treaty of Boudchaz. He pointed out the treasure kept at Warsaw as a certain resource, and particularly the courage and indignation of the Poles, who longed to wash off this disgrace from their nation. Notwithstanding the secret exertions of Sobieski's enemies against his designs, and even against his person,

The Poles  
break the  
treaty  
which their  
king had  
made with  
the Turks.

person,\* the grand general obtained all the suffrages, and succeeded to have the treaty declared void, disgraceful to the republic, and made without its consent. The ardour with which the Poles were inflamed, required other succours than those possessed by this exhausted republic. The treasure of Warsaw consisted more in jewels and precious furniture than in money. It was neither sufficiently abundant, nor of a nature to furnish speedily the means to raise troops. The Lithuanians had the same interests, but not the same zeal, as the Poles; they made Sobieski wait for them so long, that all the forces which he expected were not ready 'till the end of September. Notwithstanding these delays, fifty thousand men were assembled, and after a disagreeable march of six weeks, Sobieski met a chiau on the other side of the Niester, sent by the Porte to carry king Michael the castan, a mark of vassalage, which the grand general called the ignominious vest, and to demand the first year's tribute stipulated by the treaty of Boudchaz. Sobieski having asked this Turk for the letters which he had for the king: "The honor of opening the letters of our invincible emperor," replied the chiau, "belongs only to thy master, to whom they are addressed: I will lose my life before they shall be wrested from me." The grand general was tempted to have this haughty envoy put in chains; but,

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

Sobieski  
advances  
towards the  
confines of  
Podolia.

\* A secret enemy accused Sobieski of being a traitor to his country, and fled immediately after this accusation.

J.C. 1673. but, recollecting the respect due from a general  
 Heg. 1084. to the law of nations, he let him pass without  
 permitting any insult to be offered him.

Sobieski advanced as much as the rigour of the season would permit him. Chufain bashaw, who commanded in Podolia with the rank of seraskier or generalissimo, had in a short time collected eighty thousand men in the camp of Choczin, an advantageous situation for defending the entrance of that province, which Kiuperli had had the precaution to provide with troops. The town of Choczin, situated on the right side of the Niester, is defended by a good citadel, and by another fort on the opposite side of the river. Notwithstanding the advantage of the ground that surrounded this place, where the Ottoman army was intrenched as if in a large fortress, Sobieski resolved to join battle. This was contrary to the advice of Pak, the general of the Lithuanians, who argued a long time in the council of war on the inconsistency of attacking an army superior in number in a fortified camp. Sobieski could not divulge, that Petrecseius, prince of Moldavia, and Gregory, prince of Walachia, had promised to desert to him in the heat of the battle. Petrecseius longed to be revenged of an insult. The general, Chufain bashaw, had had the imprudence to strike in his rage the prince of Moldavia. These vassals of the Ottoman empire, often treated like slaves, are no more faithful to their barbarous masters, than real slaves who fight  
 for



for the moment to break their chains. During the three days that the Polish army had been encamped before Choczin, and that Petrescius had received from the seraskier this base treatment, the prince of Moldavia had continually informed the grand general by signals and deserters of every thing that was of consequence for him to know. Sobieski, vexed at the opposition of Pak, to whom he would not say in an open council of war on what advantages he relied, confined himself to conjuring his colleague to be a witness at the head of his Lithuanians, of the efforts which the Poles were going to make. Pak loved glory; he yielded to the solicitation of a general who merited his confidence.

At break of day, when the Turkish guards, fatigued with the watch of the night, were involuntarily yielding to sleep, Sobieski, on foot, conducted a regiment of dragoons himself to that part of the intrenchment which the Moldavian had informed him was most accessible; the escalade was made almost without resistance, and the Walachians and Moldavians declared immediately for the assailant. The attack was so sudden that the outermost tents of the Turks were pillaged before the spahis had mounted their horses or the janissaries formed their ranks. Jablonouski, the palatine of Russia, had no difficulty to get possession of the ground that the Walachians and Moldavians quitted: the Poles entered through the breaches, and Pak followed with his Lithuanians.

Battle of  
Choczin  
where the  
Turks are  
beaten.

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

Sobieski, to whom they had brought a horse, made his dispositions in the middle of the enemy's camp, just as he would have done in his tent the evening before the battle. Meanwhile the Turks, affrighted, endeavoured to rally at some distance. It was with difficulty that Sobieski could keep his soldiers from pillaging; he sent to destroy a bridge that the Turks had thrown over the Niester, and which he knew to be badly guarded. When the janissaries learned that their retreat was cut off, they fell into despair, which completed their defeat; twenty thousand men threw themselves into the Niester to endeavour to save themselves by swimming; twenty thousand were biting the ground; and the rest of the army was dispersed; Chufain fled in time at the head of some spahis, who took refuge with him in Kamienieck.

Taking of  
the citadel  
of Chocz-  
zin.

Sobieski, whom this victory had cost five thousand men, had the cruelty to have more than four thousand prisoners who begged their lives massacred in cold blood. He summoned the citadel of Choczyn to surrender at discretion after an attack of some hours, threatening to burn the fortrefs and slaughter all that he should find therein, without distinction of nation, profession, sex, or age, if the gates were not immediately opened. Causio bashaw, one of Chufain's lieutenants, a prisoner preserved from the carnage by the policy of Sobieski, was sent with the trumpeter who made this cruel summons. Notwithstanding the general terror, the soldiers replied that they expected

pected to die, but that they would not open their gates, unless they were permitted to march out with the honors of war and go to Kamienieck. It was impossible to obtain any other answer from them. The bashaw Causio brought back this reply to Sobieski; and, bathing with his tears the paper on which the proposed capitulation was written, begged the grand general of Poland to reflect how uncertain the fortune of war was; that all brave soldiers were equally intitled to esteem, and even assistance when the interest of their cause was not concerned; and that military valour did not exclude humanity. The unfeigned grief and eloquence of the bashaw had the desired effect on Sobieski, who was not naturally cruel, and who had been led away by the heat of victory only. He granted the defenders of Choczin all they asked; and the garrison marched out with the honors of war to retire to Kamienieck, forty waggons carrying the wounded and baggage.

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

Sobieski was advancing at the head of his victorious army, to surround a body of twenty thousand men, intended to reinforce the army of Chusain bashaw, when he learned the death of the king of Poland. This event prevented him from profiting, as much as he might have done, by the victory of Choczin, and saved Kamienieck, which he had designed to take. An affair of greater consequence required his presence at

Death of  
the king  
of Poland.

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

Warſaw, as well as the nobles, to whom belonged the right of chooſing a maſter.

War be-  
tween the  
Roman ca-  
tholic and  
Greek  
Chriſtians.

Whilst the Poles and Ottomans were fighting for the dominion of the Ukraine and Podolia, the Greek monks made war at Jeruſalem with the Latins for the poſſeſſion of the Holy places. It is moſt likely that the latter were the aggreſſors, as, by virtue of the treaty concluded with Lewis XIV. they had endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of Bethlehem chapel, built on the very ſpot where Jeſus Chriſt came into the world. The Greeks had long been in poſſeſſion of this ſacred monument. On their reſuſing to give it up, the Latins thought themſelves authoriſed to form a ſort of cruſade, in order to take it by force. We have already remarked, that, in the quarrels between the Roman and Greek Chriſtians, the Muſſulmen always take part with the latter. The ſangiaſ lent them ſuccours. They not only recovered Bethlehem chapel, but had like- wiſe the boldneſs to attack the Latins whiſt they were celebrating Chriſtmas in the Holy ſepulchre; the blood of ſome monks of both parties, polluted the ſacrifices which were offered up that holy night to the redeemer of the World. The Latins were vanquiſhed; and when they complained to the divan of the violation of a treaty ſo recently made, they received no other anſwer, than that it appeared from the records that the Greeks had been always in poſſeſſion of it, and that this had been recently confirmed

to


to them by a catcherif, which the late Panajot, first interpreter to the Porte, the same to whose address the reduction of Candia was thought due, had obtained for the monks of his faith. All that the ambassadors could obtain was, that the Greeks should permit the Latin pilgrims to enter the Holy places, on pecuniary conditions, for which the Greek prelates should pay the grand seignior an annual sum; which equally satisfied the avarice of both parties. This decision, so contrary to the new treaty, was made in open divan.

The same tribunal pronounced a more just decree against a favorite of Mahomet's, called also Mahomet. This man, raised by the favor of the monarch to the most advantageous and least dangerous posts, such as felictar aga and desterdar of the household, had solicited the command of ten galleys sent to the isles of the Archipelago to bring home the revenues both in natural produce and money. This commission, which gave Mahomet aga an opportunity of fingering a great deal of riches, exposed him greatly to temptation, as he thought he might do what he pleased under a prince who made him his companion. This officer, in his visit to the different islands, conducted himself as the favorite of a voluptuous prince, who thinks he may do just what he pleases and pays no attention to the interests of the people. His exactions were so great, that some very serious complaints arrived

J.C. 1673.  
Heg. 1084.

J.C. 1674.  
Heg. 1085.  
The felictar aga is punished for the misde-meanors which he had committed as desterdar.

J.C. 1674.  
Heg. 1085.

 rived at Constantinople, before Mahomet aga had brought back his galleys to the capital, more loaded on his own account than the emperor's. Immediately on their entering the port, the grand vizier sent a guard on board, in order to prevent any thing from being removed out of the vessels; and, notwithstanding the weakness which the sultan did not dissemble for this extortioner, Kiuperli persuaded him, that it was for the interest of Mahomet aga, that he himself should give an account of his conduct in open divan, which several letters represented to be very criminal, but which he could not think true. The sultan did not doubt that his grand vizier meant to justify this favorite whom he wished to find innocent, and with this idea consented to a formality which tended to clear his character. But the faithless aga not having been able to answer the complaints brought against him from the different islands where he had behaved so ill, still less to the questions put to him by Kiuperli on the quantity of riches hidden in his vessels, the smallest part of which only he had intended for the public treasury; he was fully convicted; and the grand vizier condemned him to death, which sentence was executed before the sultan knew of it. Kiuperli, by this equitable and severe conduct, always prescribed the same to his master, who, quite incapable of holding the reins of government, had at least the prudence to leave them to his minister,

The

The war lingered on both sides this year. <sup>J.C. 1674.  
Heg. 1085.</sup> The Poles were taken up with choosing a king. On the news that the grand general Sobieski, already too formidable, had mounted this throne which he had 'till then so well defended, Kiuperli levied considerable forces; he ordered the khan of the Tartars to march towards the Ukraine, and chose from the janissaries twelve thousand serdengietchdis, which he caused to be replaced in that corps by twelve thousand recruits. These soldiers answer directly to what we formerly called the forlorn hope, and now grenadiers.\* They receive an additional pay of eleven aspers to that which they had before, and in consequence are sent on all detachments and the most fatiguing and dangerous duty. Kiuperli joined these twelve thousand picked men to the Tartars which he sent into the Ukraine as soon as he learned that the new king of Poland was marching towards that province. This prince, who had deferred the ceremony of his coronation, thought to complete in a second campaign what he had so fortunately begun the preceding one; but, in a circumstance where Sobieski seemed to forget his own interest for that of the nation which had just chosen him, he was not seconded. The grand general of Lithuania, Pak, who 'till then had been the rival of the grand general of Poland, grieved in secret to see him his master. In order to convince him that

Establish-  
ing of ser-  
dengietch-  
dis or gre-  
nadiers in  
the janis-  
saries.

an

\* The Turkish word signifies devoted to death.

J.C. 1672.  
Heg. 1083.

The king  
of Poland,  
abandoned  
by the Li-  
thuanians,  
is obliged  
to go into  
winter  
quarters.

an elective monarch has not an absolute power, especially before he is crowned, Pak withdrew his Lithuanians at the very time that the king was thinking to lay siege to Kamienieck. This sort of defection obliged Sobieski to go into winter quarters; he went to Braclaw to wait 'till the spring, when he proposed taking the field again. An artisan, says his historian, would have thought himself badly lodged in the house which he occupied.

Meanwhile Kiuperli, who, as we have already observed, had given the command of the army to the khan of the Tartars, resolved, in order the better to defend Kamienieck from the attempts of the Poles, to purge the territory of all the Greek and Latin Christians, even of the Jews, who lived in great numbers in the environs of this town. These unfortunate people were torn from their homes, and transported beyond the Danube into a country heretofore inhabited by Greeks, and at that time almost a desert. They divided between them this uncultivated spot. The houses and territories that they had been constrained to forsake, were distributed to two thousand spahis, who became as many timariars, subject in consequence to lose the possessions which they were granted.

Whilst Kiuperli was meditating to oppose new forces to the talents of king John Sobieski, the grand seignior was taken up with the pleasure of displaying in Adrianople all the Ottoman pomp



on account of the marriage of one of his daughters and the circumcision of his two sons. He had had the last by a young odalisk that Fatma, the favorite sultaneſs, had attempted to kill by means of ill treatment; becauſe Cadisja (that was the name of the young victim), who had been brought up among the waiting-women of the ſultaneſs, had made this jealous miſtreſs fear that ſhe would ſoon raviſh the emperor's heart from her. Mahomet, more occupied with the government of his haram than the affairs of the empire, prepoſſeſſed too with a riſing paſſion for this woman who had been treated with ſo much inhumanity, gave her in the haram and in his heart the place of her perſecutreſs, and baniſhed the latter to the old ſeraglio. He had had by her one ſon and one daughter; and a ſecond ſon by Cadisja. This child became ſoon as dear to the emperor as its mother. Mahomet choſe Kul Ogli his favorite, at that time baſhaw of Magnesia, and whom he had loaded with favors, to ally him to his blood. It was juſt that this honor, which coſts thoſe ſo dear on whom the ſultans are pleaſed to confer it, ſhould fall on a favorite loaded with the kindneſſes of this prince, and who had no other merit than being in his good graces. The preſents, which the huſband of the princeſs ſent to the ſeraglio in pomp, were of much greater value than any that had ever been made before on a like occaſion. Mahomet gave as valuable ones, which were carried before

J.C. 1675.  
Heg. 1086.

Marriage  
of a daughter  
of the  
emperor's.  
Circumci-  
ſion of two  
princes.

J.C. 1675.  
Heg. 1086.

the sultaneſs when ſhe repaired with a great retinue to the palace intended for her. The Turkiſh feſtivals principally conſiſt in illuminations and fire-works. This nation, naturally ſober, is very little acquainted with entertainments. Tho' there are ſome drunkards among the Muſſulmen, it is only in ſecret that they indulge themſelves in wine. Their dances and ſorts of dramas are executed in the harams only, becauſe all theſe amuſements are very diſſolute. Theſe people, though ſo grave, know no bounds in their pleaſures; if we except ſome combats which are ſomething like our tournaments, all their plays ſhock decency; all the Turks too, who don't reſign themſelves to an exceſs of libertinism, are very auſtere in their manners. After the celebration of the nuptials of the young ſultaneſs, the general attention was taken up with the feſtivals that preceded and followed the circumciſion of the two princes. Theſe laſt, more magnificent than the former, far from being an expence to the public treaſury, filled it with a great deal of gold. It was cuſtomary for thoſe who have ſome poſt, whether civil or military, timarians, or ſervants of the ſeraglio, belonging to the emperor or to ſome of the imperial family, to make a preſent in proportion to their riches or the place which they hold. The circumciſion of the grand ſeignior's children is conſidered as one of the reſources of the ſtate.

The

The advantage which Mahomet reaped from this ceremony was counterbalanced by the loss which he met with soon after, of the man who perhaps had been most useful to the Turkish empire since its foundation. Kiuperli had just prevailed on his master to return to Constantinople, notwithstanding the partiality which this prince always had for Adrianople; he had convinced him, that, not only the seraglio of Byzantium was in the finest situation possible, and alone worthy by its magnificence and extent to receive the emperor of the East, but that it was politic for a monarch to reside in the capital of his dominions, always richer and more considerable when the prince keeps his court there. Mahomet, docile to the advice of his minister, set out on his journey; but Kiuperli was so ill that, not being able to get on horseback, he went by water as far as Selivrea, after which he made his delis carry him in a litter from thence to the town of Charlu, where the violence of his malady constrained him to stop. In the last moments of this great man, an iman having presented him with an Alcoran to say his prayers, Kiuperli, placing his hand on the book of the law, exclaimed: "Prophet, I shall soon know if thou have said the truth; but truth or not, I am not allowed to do evil to my fellow creatures; I have on the contrary endeavoured to do all the good in my power, and I trust in God the fountain of justice and mercy." This minister died aged forty-seven

J.C. 1675.  
Heg. 1086.

Death of  
Kiuperli.

J.C. 1675.  
Heg. 1086. years, after having governed fifteen with as much sagacity as success. It is not unlikely that a longer ministry would have changed the manners of these people, to whom Kiuperli gave the example of virtues little known in the East. His inflexible severity always tended to maintain order and spare blood; his bravery was never cruel, and his love of humanity made him constantly prefer the good of the public to that of his master: or rather, Kiuperli was convinced, that the interest of the monarch, properly understood, is inseparable from that of his people. As a great general, he terminated the long Candian war by the conquest of that island; took Kaminieck, the key to Poland, and one of the strongest places in the whole world; imposed a tribute on that kingdom; reduced the Ukraine; and gained over the Cossacks, who had 'till then been the enemies of the Ottoman empire. As a wise minister, he knew how to keep the different military corps in subjection, so turbulent under his predecessors; he employed the soldiers to enlarge the limits of the empire, which they had often rent; he maintained, both in the administration of the state and in the exercise of justice, the greatest order and most invariable equity; he managed the finances with œconomy notwithstanding his master's inclination to dissipate them; in short, he sustained the sceptre in hands too feeble for its support, with a dignity 'till then unknown among the Turks.

Cara Mustapha, his brother-in-law, who had filled the place of caimacan during the whole siege of Candia and whilst the court resided at Adrianople, was chosen by Mahomet to succeed Kiuperli. This was a favor which the sultan granted to the memory of that great man, who had always appeared to esteem his brother-in-law, and who had intrusted him with part of the government. Mahomet bestowed another mark of respect on the family of this illustrious minister: though the chattels of the viziers and bashaws belong to the treasury after their death, the sultan thought he ought to leave the children of this great minister the produce of those labours which had been so serviceable to him.

J.C. 1675.  
Heg. 1086.

Cara Mustapha is made grand vizier in the room of Kiuperli.

This year the war was carried on in Poland by the Turks with more cruelty than success. Sobieski, too great not to excite envy, had not been able to prevail on his countrymen to furnish him with the forces necessary to repulse the enemy which he had already vanquished; he led, against a considerable army, the few regular troops that his enemies, who affected to fear him, had been unable to take from him. The seraskier Ibrahim, by his incapacity, knew not how to take advantage of the superiority of his number. The Turks, instead of attacking the little army of Sobieski, went to besiege some considerable places which still held for the Poles on the confines of the Ukraine and Podolia: they put to death women and children, unmercifully butchering

War in  
Poland.

J.C. 1675.  
Heg. 1086.

butchering the inhabitants of the towns, sometimes because they had defended themselves too much, at other times because they had treacherously delivered up their governor who refused to surrender. The seraskier Ibrahim, after having lost much time and a great many men, sent Nuradin, the son of the khan of the Tartars, to attack Sobieski with a detachment very superior to the army of the latter. The king beat this detachment; twelve thousand Poles killed more than fifteen thousand Tartars, and put those to flight that the night enveloped in its obscurity. The king of Poland, advancing at the head of his victorious, little army, forced Ibrahim to raise the siege of Trambula, assailed by more than forty thousand men. The new grand vizier Cara Mustapha, mortified at the disgrace which the Ottomans had met with, resolved to give the command of a more considerable force the next campaign to a better general.

Sobieski  
obtains  
some few  
succours  
from his  
subjects.

Sobieski, whose valour and talents, after having kindled envy, ought of course to excite admiration, taught his subjects, by what he had done with so few men, what he was capable of doing with an army more numerous. Even those, who had refused troops to the king, were convinced that it was time to succour this exhausted kingdom; but though the sight of its present wants had wrested from the diet the promise of a hundred thousand men, they could never furnish the king with more than thirty-eight

eight thousand. The allied crowns, who were solicited for subsidies, offered only their mediation for a peace. All the provinces felt the effects of the incursions of the Turks, or the recent horrors of civil war; this unfortunate republic, after having rent its own bosom, could not find wherewithal to repel the enemy. But he, who had beaten eighty thousand men with twelve thousand Poles, hoped with thirty-eight thousand men to be able to resist two hundred thousand, for the Turks had not set a less army on foot. Mahomet and his vizier had given the command of this numerous army, in which there were eighty thousand Tartars, to another Ibrahim surnamed Shaitan, which signifies *Devil*, because this bashaw had always made war with great cruelty.

Sobieski viewed the country which he was to defend more with the eyes of a monarch than a general. He resolved to remove the seat of war to the extremity of the Polish dominions, in order to favor the inner part of his kingdom already too much desolated. Without attempting to oppose the march of the Turks, who kept along the borders of the Niester, he passed that river at a distance from them, and conducted his army with great celerity to the neighbourhood of Surawnow, a hamlet of Pokusia at the confluence of the Suwits and the Niester. As he knew very well that he should be pursued, he lost not a moment to intrench himself in a camp already fortified

J.C. 1675.  
Heg. 1086.

J.C. 1676.  
Heg. 1087.

He conducts them to the confines of Poland, where he keeps a numerous army of Turks, at bay.

J.C. 1676.  
Heg. 1087.  
 fortified by nature. Having learned that the Turkish army was coming after him, he passed the Suwits with his cavalry only, charged the advanced guard of the Turks who were still on their march, threw them back on the centre with loss, and had time to repass the river before this numerous army could range themselves in battle.

Meanwhile the Polish infantry made the most of their time. On Sobieski's return to his camp, he found the fortifications finished; and he saw himself at the head of his army as in a strong town where all the inhabitants were soldiers. And indeed, Ibrahim made his dispositions as if for a siege; on his arrival near the Polish camp, he extended his troops in the form of a bow of which the Niefter made the cord. He sent Nusradin, the son of the khan of the Tartars, with forty thousand men to the other side of the river, to block up all the communications, either for convoys or recruits, in short, for every kind of succour. During seventeen days there were continual skirmishes, in which the Poles had the advantage as often as the Turks. Sobieski, constantly employed in encouraging his soldiers, sent out parties from his intrenchments to attack parties of the enemy. Though his provisions began to fail, he had the boldness to propose articles of peace, as if he had been at least equal in forces. Two general officers were sent to the khan of the Tartars: "We come," said they to him, "to solicit your mediation. If the Turks will  
 " restore



" restore us our towns, particularly Kaminnieck, <sup>J.C. 1678.</sup>  
 " evacuate the Ukraine, and refrain from pro- <sup>Heg. 1087.</sup>  
 " tecting the Cossacks; the king and the republic  
 " are ready to ratify a peace by oath." The  
 Tartar having carried this proposal to the seraf-  
 skier, the latter, irritated at so much audacity, re-  
 fused to make any reply.

As the seraskier was unable to force the Poles  
 in their intrenchments, and his troops could reap  
 no advantage from their number in thus fighting  
 by piece-meal, he resolved to open trenches and  
 erect batteries as before a fortified town. So-  
 bieski caused counter-trenches to be digged.  
 Battles were fought under the earth, and the war  
 of a siege was carried on in an open country.  
 The Poles began to want ammunition as well as  
 provisions. The Tartars blocked up their rear  
 as the Turks did their front and flanks; nothing  
 was able to enter. All the officers and soldiers,  
 who wanted sustenance both for themselves and  
 their horses, wished heartily for a general action,  
 in order to put an end to so many distresses by  
 victory or death. Sobieski, who held in a small  
 space the last resources and the destiny of Poland,  
 hesitated to give battle; he knew that all the  
 powers of Europe, in friendship with the grand  
 seignior, were negotiating a peace; he did not  
 doubt that the khan of the Tartars was greatly  
 afraid lest Poland should become a province of  
 the Ottoman empire, and that he wished to treat  
 with the seraskier, who, he knew, had full powers

J.C. 1676.  
Heg. 1087.

Extremi-  
ties to  
which the  
Polish ar-  
my is re-  
duced.

from the Porte; but he would rather lose his crown than consent to the disgraceful tribute which the feeble king Michael had been so much reproached with. Two bashaws, followed by twenty-four officers of the janissaries, came to the camp to conjure the king to spare the remains of his army, and not to sacrifice his country to the chimerical hope of saving it from a tribute already granted. Sobieski was inflexible; he had only these words in his mouth, VANQUISH OR DIE. At length, as there were no more provisions left than for four days, it was highly necessary not to weaken his soldiers by hunger and all the extremities of want: Sobieski was considering of an order of battle to fall on the Turks and open himself a passage through them. This perilous work was fixed for the next day, the thirty-first of October, when, fortunately, Ibrahim's deputies returned to offer more favorable conditions. The seraskier had received letters from Constantinople, which ordered him to put an end to this war in which the European powers threatened to take part. He had also received intelligence that Russia was arming to succour Poland: in short, when Sobieski saw the bashaws again who, two days before, had told him that he would have to reproach himself with the destruction of the republic, the loss of his throne, and all the blood that was about to be spilt, he had the address to dissemble his joy and appear more difficult than at the former conference. The Turkish officers having proposed,

by

by way of preliminary, that the Poles should engage to send an army against the Russians who were coming to their assistance, and repel with arms any attempts which that nation might make against the sultan; Sobieski received with indignation a proposition so disgraceful. The deputies did not persist in their demand, and as to the tribute it was no longer talked of; the division of the lands was solely in dispute. After a rather long discussion, Sobieski, thoroughly resolved not to let the deputies return without coming to some conclusion, agreed that the republic of Poland should leave the Cossacks one third of the Ukraine, and that these people should continue to live under the protection of the grand seignior; that Kamienieck, Jaslouwiecz, and some other places in Podolia, should be confirmed to the Turks, which in consequence would always preserve them a footing in Poland; that the prisoners should be restored on both sides, and that the king and republic should send a solemn embassy to the Porte for the ratification of this treaty. The conditions being carried to the seraskier Ibrahim were signed the same day: the latter only added, that the ambassador chosen should be worthy, by the nobleness of his person and demeanor, to appear before the greatest monarch in the world. The king proposed Andrew Zalufki, the grand cup-bearer, who had followed him to the army, which was agreed to. The Turks consider figure as of great importance in filling a post; they say,

J.C. 1676.  
Heg. 1087.

Peace concluded between the seraskier plenipotentiary and the king.

J.C. 1676.  
Heg. 1087.

that a sordid mind or a base heart is seldom found in a well made person. All the boys that are admitted into the icoglans, and who are intended afterward for the first posts of the empire, are chosen from among the best formed; and if they should afterward be afflicted with any blemish, they are removed out of the odas.

The seraskier, who, as we have already said, had full powers, granted likewise that the Roman catholics should again have possession of the Holy sepulchre; but this article, so often agreed to, was always eluded, the viziers replying constantly to the French ambassador and the rest: “What difference can it be to you whether your monks or those of the Greeks guard this church, since your pilgrims have always liberty to go there and adore their God?” The Infidels did not know that (in the opinion of the Roman catholics) this God rejects the sacrifices of those whom they had made trustees of his temple. Thus Sobieski, with the few remaining forces of his exhausted country, had the glory to repair the honor of his crown, disgraced by his feeble predecessor, and to terminate a war which had desolated Poland for many years. The judicious author of his life remarks, that, only three days were employed to pacify the two nations, and that six months were taken to regulate the ceremony to be observed with respect to the ambassador that brought the ratification of the treaty.

The

The grand vizier, Mustapha, the haughtiest that had ever yet been invested with this first dignity of the empire, had just refused Mr. Denointel; the French ambassador, an audience, because that minister had demanded to have his seat placed, according to ancient custom, on the same carpet with that of the grand vizier. Mustapha wanted to make several of the ambassador's servants pay the caratche or poll tax, which all the Christians and Jews that inhabit the dominions of the emperor of the East are subject to. Whilst the whole Porte was resounding with the just complaints and resistance of Mr. Denointel, the grand cup-bearer, Zalufki, arrived at Darud Bashaw with a retinue of seven hundred Poles. He stopped at this pleasure-house of the emperor's in order to have the grand vizier informed of his coming; and he wrote, that the ambassador of the king and republic of Poland expected the prime minister of the Ottoman empire to come and receive him at the gates of Constantinople. One might well suppose, that he, who durst refuse Lewis XIV., at that time in the height of his glory, what was due to his ambassador, would not grant honors 'till then unknown, to the minister of an exhausted power which had submitted to pay tribute to the Porte. The haughty Mustapha replied: "If this Infidel stay 'till I come and seek him, he is likely to remain long enough to be buried at Darud Bashaw, with all his retinue." The ambassador having

J.C. 1677.  
Heg. 1088.

Mr. Denointel, the French ambassador, meets with difficulties in his ceremonial.

The Polish ambassador demands honors that are refused him.

J.C. 1677. having desired subsistence for seven hundred Poles  
 Heg. 1088.

who composed his train, Mustapha answered:  
 “ If he mean to take Constantinople, he has not  
 “ enough seven hundreds men with him: if he  
 “ comes as an ambassador only, he is mad to bring  
 “ such a retinue after him. But, however, since we  
 “ maintain already seven thousand of these Poles  
 “ as slaves on board our galleys, we will make  
 “ no difficulty of feeding an additional seven  
 “ hundred of them.” All these discussions and  
 vain formalities of ceremony would have re-  
 kindled the war, if Sobieski, who knew better  
 than his ambassador the real state of his kingdom,  
 the value of human blood, and the frivolousness  
 of these pretensions, had not ordered Zaluski to  
 enter Constantinople and receive his audience of  
 the grand seignior, on which depended the con-  
 summation of the treaty, and to raise no more  
 difficulties about the ceremony. The ambas-  
 sador thought to honor his master and his coun-  
 try by displaying in this solemn entry a magni-  
 ficence ’till then without example. The shoes  
 of his horses were of silver, and fastened on with  
 two nails only, so that, falling off by the way,  
 they might be picked up by the mob. This  
 prodigality, was remarked as Zaluski wished.  
 One of these extraordinary shoes was carried to  
 the grand vizier. “ This Giaur,” said Cara Mus-  
 tapha, “ shoes his horses with silver; but he  
 must have a leaden head, since, sent by a poor  
 “ republic,

SEE HIS entry  
 by order of  
 his master.

“republic, he thus lavishes what they can so  
“badly afford to give him.” J.C. 1677.  
Heg. 1088.

Mustapha had the same authority as his predecessor, but was far from possessing the same abilities. The monarch, as fond as ever of the chase, which drew him often from his palace for whole weeks together, necessarily abandoned the reins of government to hands much less skilful than those of that illustrious grand vizier. The insupportable pride of Cara Mustapha spoiled every thing that the address of Kiuperli, his firmness and love of the public welfare, had done. The new feudatories of the Porte, the Cossacks, were displeased at being deprived of the best places in the Ukraine by the last treaty. Being become enemies of the Poles, they did not receive from the Turks sufficient succours to repel the insults of those neighbours, who considered them always as revolted subjects. Dorozensko, their ethman, who prevailed on his countrymen to solicit the protection of the Turks, went to Constantinople, with intention to obtain from Cara Mustapha wherewithal to fortify the places still left him, and indemnify him for those which he had lost. The ethman met with nothing but refusals, harsh expressions, and even threats, instead of the protection, honors, and indemnities, that he had expected. Enraged at this treatment, he returned into that part of the Ukraine which was left him, and persuaded the Cossacks, whom he accused himself of having deceived in the same

Mustapha alienates the ethman of the Cossacks by his haughtiness and harshness.

This prince prevails on his subjects to seek the protection of Russia.

manner

J.C. 1677.  
Heg. 1088.

manner as he had been, by procuring them such faithless allies, or rather such bad masters, to solicit the protection of the czar of Muscovy. In a general assembly of the nation, they wrote to the czar a letter full of submission, and offers of the most constant fidelity. The Cossacks begged pardon of that prince for having thought of entering into an alliance with the Turks. They promised him to defend his frontiers for the future against this haughty nation, and all the enemies of the Russian empire. One of them, called Theodore Alexis, was sent to the sovereign of Russia with this proposition, which could not but be very agreeable to him. This new alliance, or rather conquest which the czar made without striking a blow, extended the frontiers of his dominions beyond the Boristhenes, and gave him soldiers of a valour proof against all manner of danger and great patience in the fatigues of war. He received the Cossack envoy with marks of the greatest satisfaction. He promised his countrymen the most constant protection, and contented himself with so slight a tribute, that he seemed to accept it merely to authenticate the vassalage. The grand vizier was greatly chagrined on hearing of this defection, which he could impute to no one but himself. Seeking too late to save the expence and hazards of a war, he resolved to send the Cossacks a new ethman, whose ancestors had been ever dear to them.


Cara



Cara Mustapha took from the dungeons of the Seven Towers, George, the son of Bogdan the ethman of the Cossacks who was killed in fighting against Poland. The people had elected this son without the Porte's knowing any thing of it. Revolutions too long to be related had at length conducted him to the prison of the Seven Towers. Six months before his deliverance, this prince had attempted to escape from a too rigorous captivity. He had cut the carpets which served him for a bed into bands, and, having made a sort of rope of them, had, by the aid of this succour, slid down from the top of the walls of his prison. The rope not being sufficiently long, he was obliged to precipitate himself from a considerable height, and, being wounded in falling, was easily retaken by the boxtangis who guarded the Seven Towers. This unfortunate prince, bruised by his fall, was also severely whipped, and dragged into a dungeon, where he was chained by the middle of the body. After being six months in this place, designed for the greatest criminals and lowest slaves, George was taken from thence by the vizier, to receive the vest of sable and the robe of command, in quality of ethman of the Cossacks. Prince Cantimir assures us, that it was with difficulty he could be prevailed on to accept it. The Porte having given him an establishment worthy of one of the first vassals of the empire, he sent one of his countrymen with letters to the principal Cossacks,

J.C. 1677.  
Heg. 1088.

Cara Mustapha takes from the Seven Towers another ethman to set up against the former one.

J.C. 1677.  
Heg. 1088.  In which he treated Dorozensko as a rebel and a traitor, exhorting the subjects of his father to acknowledge the son of their old master for ethman, who was honored with the investiture of the Porte. The man charged with this negotiation was badly received by the Cossacks. The offers which the sultan made by this same envoy, to give money to fortify places, were rejected with disdain, and the negotiator had great difficulty to save himself from the resentment of Dorozensko, who would not respect the law of nations in the person of an emissary sent to dethrone him.

J.C. 1678.  
Heg. 1089. The czar sent the troops, destined to succour Poland, to protect his new vassals. Whilst Cara Mustapha was flattering himself with causing the ethman that he had just taken from the Seven Towers to be acknowledged, he learned that eighty thousand men, Russians and Cossacks, lined the confines of the Ukraine. The khan of the Tartars and Ibrahim Shaitan were ordered to march against these pretended rebels: the new ethman, who had not learned to command armies in his dungeon, was intrusted to the bashaw. Ibrahim Shaitan did not acquit himself better than a prince without experience might have done; for having learned that the Tartars who were to join him had been beaten by Dorozensko before this junction could be formed, he rashly marched against the enemy and, having exposed himself to be attacked in a disadvantageous situation, by

The Tartars and Turks are beaten by the Russians and Cossacks. The grand vizier makes new efforts against them.

an

an army greatly superior to his own both in number and courage, was cut to pieces, without having given the Cossacks and Russians any other trouble, than to pursue and butcher men who made no defence. The news of this shameful defeat, being arrived at Constantinople, put the whole city into a consternation. Under the ministry of Kiuperli, Mahomet had not been accustomed to misfortunes, and the haughty Cara Mustapha saw with grief the Ottoman troops beaten by the rebels that he had meant to punish. He proposed in the divan to prepare new forces, to repair the disgrace of the Ottoman arms, though the musti and the bashaws of the bench were all for leaving these people quiet, who were not formerly vassals of the Porte, and who belonged more to the Russians than the Ottomans. Cara Mustapha obstinately maintained, that the promise made the ethman George, the son of Bogdan, ought to be kept, and that a prince, who was honored with the investiture of the Porte, could not lose his sovereignty without he were guilty of rebellion; that the janissaries were neither less brave nor less under command than they had been in the preceding wars, and that the dignity of the empire required that they should not quit their arms 'till they were vanquishers. Mahomet, accustomed to let himself be governed by a vizier, listened to Cara Mustapha with all the attention that he had formerly devoted to Kiuperli. The war against the Rus-

J.C. 1678.  
Heg. 1089.

J.C. 1679. Heg. 1090. **fians and Cossacks** was continued with more activity than ever. The winter was taken up in preparations, and Cara Mustapha succeeded to wrest his master from the arms of effeminacy, to shew him at the head of the army which he was himself preparing to command.

J.C. 1679. Heg. 1090. **Mahomet** reviewed the troops levied against the Russians, and set out at the head of seventy thousand men, janissaries and asaps, and thirty thousand timarians and spahis. It was thought that he was going to the war, and he persuaded himself so; but as soon as he arrived at Tartarpazarjik, a town of Thrace situated in the middle of a large, thick forest, he would not advance further; but, leaving the command of the army to his grand vizier, prepared to make war with the wild beasts. Cara Mustapha had shewn himself a bad politician in displeasing the Cossacks, and in undertaking a war which he might have avoided. He proved that he was not a better general of an army; the first fault that he committed was to divide his troops, under pretence of being the better able to find provisions for them, thus offering several small bodies to Ramanouski the Russian general, who constantly opposed his whole army to the different Ottoman corps, which he beat one after another in fenny ground. Moreover, this country, poor and already desolated, did not afford sufficient nourishment for the Turks so long accustomed to abundance. Pestilential exhalations arose from  
the

the marshes, which soon caused a sickness in the army, that carried off more men than fire and sword. The grand vizier, after having seen all his troops beaten by piece-meal, made a single conquest that became fatal to him. He had besieged Tcherin the capital of a small province still belonging to the Cossacks; this town, badly fortified, and poor, like the rest of the Ukraine, was not worth the men that would have been lost in its defence. The Russian general, who had relieved it on one side, after having beaten the besiegers, thought it best to evacuate it; but, in order to render the departure of the garrison fatal to the Turks, he charged several mines already digged, and took care to have fire set to them just as the Turks were entering in a crowd. In short, Cara Mustapha, unfortunate every where, reassembled the broken remains of his army, and returned to Thrace, thoroughly resolved to listen to proposals of peace, which were offered him by the czar, as he had expected. He abandoned the Cossacks to their new master, choosing rather to lose vassals who would not submit to the yoke of the Ottomans, than the provinces of the empire bordering on these dangerous neighbours. Mahomet returned to Constantinople at the head of part of his army. Though he had not commanded it, those, who had marched against the enemy, had not acquired more glory than himself. Cara Mustapha, in this unfortunate campaign, had neither increased his credit with his

J.C. 1679.  
Heg. 1090.

J.C. 1679.  
Heg. 1090.  
his master or the people, still less with the soldiers, who had been witnesses and victims of his incapacity. But the dislike of the grand seignior for every kind of business, and the habit that he had contracted in the time of the preceding viziers, continued to furnish the present one with a number of occasions to satisfy his caprice and avidity.

Injustice done the English by the grand vizier.  
J.C. 1680.  
Heg. 1091.  
Mustapha learned, that an English merchant, who was very old, had married a young Greek girl with the hope of leaving an heir. As this merchant was very rich, the grand vizier did not despair of getting possession of his fortune.\* He got a catcherif from the grand seignior, whose hand he guided, which declared, that all foreigners who should marry subjects of the Porte, should become subjects themselves. What the grand vizier had foreseen, really happened; the old man died within the year. As his marriage had produced no fruit, he made a will in his last moments, by which he appointed two merchants of his nation, trustees of his fortune 'till it should be known if his wife were with child or not. In the first case he requested his executors to bring up the child that should be born, and be the guardians of its patrimony; in the second, he desired them to divide his fortune between his widow and friends, in the manner that he made known.

\* There is no collateral succession in Turkey; the children, one, whether males or females, are the heirs of their parents; the possessions of those, who die without children, go to the emperor.

known to them. As soon as this man's eyes were closed, his executors, who were afraid of the grand vizier, conveyed away the effects with which they were intrusted. Cara Mustapha, irritated, began with having the widow shut up in his own haram, where she was for ever removed from sight: after which he condemned the two trustees to pay the same day to the defterdar a much more considerable sum than that which the old man's fortune amounted to. In vain did the English ambassador claim the natural law which forbids the giving of an ex post facto effect to rigorous ordinances, and the law of nations, by which a monarch cannot be deprived, without his consent, of the subjects given him by nature; the grand vizier was deaf and the sultan inaccessible. The unfortunate trustees offered in vain to surrender the effects which they were seized of by virtue of the will of the testator: they were dragged into dungeons, where they remained 'till they had paid the sum which they had been so unjustly condemned to. This law was not put in execution after the death of Mustapha; but sir . . . . Finch, at that time ambassador from England, could never obtain the repeal of it in the life time of that minister. The unjust grand vizier, in order to put a stop to the importunities of the ambassador, made use of a wile that exposed him to the whole nation. The ambassador having in a particular audience made a quotation from the treaties

J.C. 1620.  
Heg. 1091.

ties between the Porte and England in support of what he was advancing, the grand vizier feigned surprise, and desired to see the original. When the treaty was brought by one of the English druggermen, he made a pretext for seizing it, and replied to the ambassador, who earnestly demanded it, that it contained several articles contrary to the laws of the empire and the majesty of the Ottoman throne; and that the ambassador must consent to their abrogation, if the English would in future enjoy the other articles. The ambassador, having assembled his countrymen, received some reproaches from them for having intrusted this perfidious Mussulman with what was the security of all the English in the different factories. All the Christian ministers were ready to take part in this quarrel; when a sum of fifty purses, making three thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling, was furnished unanimously by the English merchants, to whom the time consumed in negotiations was a great prejudice. Mustapha, who was afraid lest the remonstrances of the ambassadors should raise a storm in the divan which he might not perhaps have the power to allay, contented himself with this sum, joined to the fine imposed on the two testamentary executors already mentioned.

The English were not the only people that the grand vizier wanted to oppress; Mr. De-guillerague, the new French ambassador, came to succeed



succeed Mr. Denointel, had two quarrels at once with this haughty minister. The first was the same as had been begun with Mr. Denointel, and which had caused that ambassador to withdraw without taking leave; the matter in dispute was, to know in what place the seat of the French ambassador should be placed at the grand vizier's audience. Lewis XIV. considered it of such great importance, that he expressly forbade his minister to go near him, unless his seat were placed as it always ought to have been on an equality with Cara Mustapha's. The Ottoman and French druggermen were continually going between the two ministers, carrying or refusing proposals; and they exhausted themselves to seek expressions that might not shock the ears of the two courts. But a much more considerable event was like to break off all alliance between France and the Ottoman empire.

The celebrated Duquesne, cruising with a squadron in the Archipelago against the corsairs drawn thither in great number by the merchant-men, fell in with two from Tripoli which had time to take shelter in the port of Scio belonging to the Turks. The French squadron began by blocking up the port; Duquesne was unwilling to be the first to commit an act of hostility; but, after two days, as the Tripolines seemed determined not to come out, the French commodore, who knew them to be loaded with a great deal of merchandise taken from the Christians, resolved to enter the port.

Insult offered the port of Scio by the French. How repaired.

J. C. 1680.  
Heg. 1091.

As the cannon from the castle of Scio fired on the squadron, Duquesne replied with a superior fire; he attacked and took the Tripoline vessels in the middle of the port, put the crews in chains, and, having towed the vessels out of the harbour, emptied them of every thing that could be carried away, and then sunk them in sight of Scio. On these news, the grand vizier, who had not yet seen the French ambassador, ordered his palace to be invested, and sent him word, that he was going to be conducted to the Seven Towers. Mr. Deguillerague replied, that the grand seignior was too just, and his minister too prudent, to do any thing against the French ambassador; that as for the rest, he would the more readily consent not to go out of his palace, as he ought not to see any one, not having yet received an audience either of the emperor or of the grand vizier. The Turkish officer, sent to make inquiries on the spot, reported, that the French were the aggressors, as they had attempted to take, in a friendly port, vessels that ought to have enjoyed the protection of the sovereign in whose dominions they had taken shelter. The grand vizier was already thinking of the war which he made the following year with the western empire. He was afraid to treat the French ambassador with so much rigour as he had at first threatened; but he demanded seven hundred purses from him, which make forty-three thousand seven hundred and

and fifty pounds sterling, for reparation of the damages done the port of Scio, and the injury that the Tripolines had received. This negotiation, which was very long, and rather sharp, was terminated by a proceeding of Mr. Deguillerague's that might have lost him the favor of his master, if kings did not voluntarily pardon those temerities which bring them success. The ambassador counterfeited a letter from Lewis XIV. addressed to the grand seignior, in which that prince blamed his commodore for having violated the asylum of a friendly port; and he informed the grand seignior, that his minister at the Porte was charged to remit seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling to the grand vizier, which he, the king of France, had condemned the authors of this insult to pay. Severe complaints were also made in this letter against the prime minister's refusing the French ambassador, without any reason, a place on his sofa, which had always been customary ever since France had kept ministers at the Porte. This letter, which no way humbled Lewis XIV. and satisfied the Turks in part, had all the effect which Mr. Deguillerague had expected. He had an audience of the grand seignior, who received the disavowal of the king of France, and the indemnity to which that prince appeared to have condemned the officers whose conduct he blamed. The grand vizier at length restored the French and other ambassadors of crowned heads

J.C. 1680.  
Heg. 1091.

The French ambassador recovers at the audience of the grand vizier the place which had been refused his predecessor.

J.C. 1680,  
Heg. 1091,

the honors which his caprice and haughtiness had made him refuse them.

Though Mahomet IV. always permitted Cara Mustapha to manage the great affairs of state as he pleased, his favor began to decline ; and the first officers of the divan, perceiving it, took every opportunity of setting the grand seignior against him. The musti thought he had found an occasion of doing it effectually, on account of a transgression of the law of Mahomet, which the avidity of the grand vizier authorised in Constantinople, because it brought a great deal of money into his own pocket. The Alcoran, as it is well known, not only forbids the use of wine, but likewise of every kind of fermented liquor. In all places where the law of Mahomet is observed, cyder and beer are as much prohibited as the juice of the grape. The grand vizier contrived to permit a liquor extracted from millet-seed, called boza, equally as fermented as beer and much like it, to be sold in Constantinople, under pretence that boza had never been forbidden by the Alcoran or the setfa of any of the ancient caliphs. The grand vizier's kiaia\* had charge of these public houses, and seemed more

Prohi-  
bition of  
boza.

\* The kiaia is a sort of substitute, or lieutenant, very inferior to the minister or general whom he assists. Every great officer has a kiaia, who is entirely dependant on him. The grand vizier's kiaia is very different from the caimacan, who really represents the grand vizier in his absence, and is invested with all his authority by the emperor, instead of which, the kiaia holds his mission of the officer only that he is to aid in the execution of his office.

more attentive to the making of a profit of them than to their being well regulated. The streets of Constantinople in a little time were full of drunkards; for the Turks have never been able to drink without getting intoxicated. The musti and all the ulema strongly remonstrated to the grand seignior against this abuse, which was increasing every day; they asserted, that Cara Mustapha authorised it, and that the officers of the police had no power over these public houses, as the vizier's kiaia openly protected them. These complaints greatly incensed the emperor; he sent for the grand vizier, less to hear his reasons than to shew him his displeasure. The musti and the bashaws of the bench were in hopes that Cara Mustapha would be deposed; but some faithful servants having given him advice of what was going forward, the minister did not hesitate to sacrifice his kiaia to allay the storm. This unfortunate man was secretly strangled immediately, notwithstanding his cries and protestations of not having done any thing but by the express order of the man who durst condemn him, to whom he had carried all the money gained by the public houses where the boza was sold. Cara Mustapha appeared before the emperor, only to assure him that he had remedied the disorder of which the musti had reason to complain, and that the protector of these scandalous public houses was no more. The grand vizier, having escaped this danger, thought, that

a longer

J.C. 1680.  
Heg. 1091.

The grand vizier sacrifices his kiaia to save himself from danger.

J.C. 1680.  
Reg. 1092.

a longer peace might prove fatal to him, and that it was necessary to remove from the ear of the prince several powerful enemies whom his arrogance and injustices had raised him up.

Disorders  
and revo-  
lutions in  
Hungary.

Though Cara Mustapha had not acquired much glory in the war against Poland, he would rather risk the honor of the Ottoman arms, in order to expose his enemies to dangers that might perhaps deliver him from them, than leave them to make use of their address with the emperor to raise themselves on his ruins. The occasion was favorable. The Hungarians were earnestly soliciting the Turks to succour them against the emperor of the West, who was treating them as rebels. Almost all the privileges of this nation were annihilated. The progress of Lutheranism occasioned persecutions. Counts Nadaſti, Serini, and Frangipani, had lost their heads on a scaffold, martyrs to their country. Count Tekli had perished the last in arms; and the Hungarians, after having groaned thirteen years under a yoke which their weakness had not permitted them to shake off, saw with transport an avenger spring up from the ashes of these heroes that they had so much bewailed. This was the young Emery, count Tekli, the son of the last mentioned nobleman. He was grand-son, by his mother, to count Nadaſti, and had been betrothed from infancy to the daughter of count Serini. Emery Tekli had escaped from the castle in which he had been confined a long time, and where he had seen his father-

father-in-law perish near him. His love for his country, and the courage which he had already shewn in a tender age, added to the misfortunes of his family and his own, rendered him so dear to the Hungarians, that, at the sound of his name only, a number of warriors of his own age, who had all a father to avenge, left their homes and proclaimed Tekli their general, and almost their master. This chief, already illustrious, conducted himself with all the prudence of consummate age and all the activity of eager youth. With those whom he called his friends, and some Transylvanian troops, he kept the field three years against the Austrian army. His own increased every day, either by Polish soldiers, whom the peace with Turkey forced to seek employment, or by countrymen whom the Austrian severity constrained to desert in troops, to unite themselves to those who were stiled the avengers of their country. Tekli had caused to be written in letters of gold on several pair of colours: *Pro aris & focis*. He led against the enemy soldiers whom he did not pay, who, for the most part, believing themselves the defenders of their religion and homes, brought with them every thing that they possessed, to contribute to the subsistence of themselves and their companions, and to pay the mercenary soldiers who shared their labours. Enthusiasm and union supplied the place of discipline. In three years Tekli beat the Austrians six times; his success had enabled him to penetrate

J.C. 1680.  
 Heg. 1091.

J.C. 1680.  
 Heg. 1091.

trate into Moravia. He was already menacing Austria, when the court of Vienna undertook to deceive these men whom they despaired of vanquishing. They proposed to Tekli to restore him all the possessions that had belonged to his family, to grant liberty of conscience to all Hungary, and to re-establish these people in the major part of their privileges. A truce of three months, which the count willingly consented to, and which had caused him to be suspected by his party, was employed by the Austrians in making new forces advance and repairing the places that they were afraid of losing. Tekli soon perceived, by the evasions of the court of Vienna, that they only wanted to gain time, and detach his friends from him. Whilst the emperor Leopold was assembling a diet at Sopron that might prove fatal to the malecontents by the succours which the monarch expected, Tekli received new propositions more advantageous than the first; but he learned, that those, who brought him promises of peace, were secretly endeavouring to deprive him of his liberty and perhaps his life. The chief of the malecontents solicited the protection of the grand seignior against enemies which he called usurpers and traitors. In vain did the diet appoint a palatine for Hungary pursuant to the request of the malecontents; in vain was Tekli offered the restoration of all his possessions and the Hungarians their privileges: they would no longer rely on masters who attempted



tempted to destroy them by assassinations; and, in order to preserve over them the advantage which they had owed only to their courage and good conduct, they implored the succour of the Porte.

J.C. 1680.  
Heg. 1093.

The male-contents solicit succours from the Porte.

In 1665, this power had, as we have seen, concluded a truce with the house of Austria for twenty years, four of which were yet unexpired. It seemed a matter worthy of the grand seignior to make himself arbitrator between a friendly prince and his revolted subjects, who might be in the right. When the grand vizier proposed in open divan to send troops to count Tekli, there was a general opposition. Cara Ibrahim, the premier bashaw of the bench, and the one whom Cara Mustapha feared most, observed, that the two empires were still bound by the faith of treaties; that the honor of the Ottoman name would not permit them to attack an ally who had not broken his engagements, and with whom a war might prove fatal to the Turks, as had already been several times experienced. The opinion of Cara Ibrahim coincided with that of the valid sultaneß, who always preserved great influence over her son, and over the members of the divan, in which several bashaws began to speak freely against the views of the grand vizier; and it was likewise that of the musti, who declared, that treaties were sacred at all times and with all people. Cara Mustapha replied, that it was the duty of a Mussulman prince

J.C. 1681.  
& 1682.  
Heg. 1092.  
& 1093.

The grand vizier's project of declaring war against the emperor of the West, is opposed in the divan.

J.C. 1681, to extend the Mahometan faith whenever an  
 & 1682. occasion presented itself; that the Hungarians  
 Heg. 1092, seemed to solicit the yoke of the East; that  
 & 1093. Austria was so drained by the war with France  
 and Sweden, that it offered the Porte a vast field  
 for conquest; that the Ottoman empire should  
 constantly endeavour to recover what had for-  
 merly composed the Roman empire; that the  
 good state of the finances, and the bravery of  
 the troops, seemed to invite to war a prince whose  
 policy and religion were to conquer; and that  
 there were always sufficient reasons for attacking  
 the Infidels, when there was a prospect of victory.  
 The grand vizier being desirous to obtain the  
 approbation of the valid sultaneſs, added, that  
 the puemalik or dower of that princess would be  
 considerably increased by the success of the Ot-  
 toman arms, as it was an ancient custom always  
 to give the sultaneſs-mother a portion of the land  
 conquered.

Notwith-  
 standing  
 the opposi-  
 tion, the  
 war is de-  
 termined  
 on.

What is more astonishing in the conduct of  
 Cara Mustapha, is, that, after having prevailed  
 on his master to declare war against the Austrians,  
 he gave the command of ten thousand men, sent  
 immediately to count Tekli, to Cara Ibrahim  
 who had so violently opposed in the divan the  
 breaking of the truce. The grand vizier was  
 willing to remove this dangerous rival at any  
 rate; and, in case the troops should be beaten,  
 to make all the blame fall on him. Prior to the  
 departure of the ten thousand men, a chiau was  
 dispatched

dispatched to the emperor Leopold, to tell him, that as Tekli and the Hungarian nobility and gentry had implored the protection of the Ottoman empire, sultan Mahomet IV. required the emperor of the West to recall the German troops already arrived in Hungary, if he would not be thought an infringer of the truce. Leopold, having at that time a number of enemies on his hands, endeavoured to parry this blow, which the grand vizier alone had thought of making him. He sent a minister to the Porte, to demand the execution of the last treaty, and to represent, that he no way refused the Hungarians the justice which they affected to demand of him sword in hand, in order to cover their rebellion with a false pretext. When the emperor's ambassador arrived, the ten thousand men commanded by Ibrahim bashaw had already marched for the frontiers. These, being joined by twelve thousand Tartars, formed a reinforcement for count Tekli capable of intimidating the Austrian garrisons: the Turks had even proclaimed this general, prince of Hungary. Andrew Caprara (that was the name of Leopold's ambassador) negotiated a long time to no purpose. When it was known that Tekli had already taken several places, Cara Mustapha declared formally to this ambassador, that a peace between his master and the Porte was not to be hoped for, unless the emperor Leopold appointed Tekli palatine of Hungary, restored the Hungarian nobility and

J.C. 1681,  
& 1682,  
Heg. 1092,  
& 1093.

J.C. 1681,  
& 1682.  
Heg. 1092,  
& 1093.

gentry the privileges which he had taken from them; and consented that the western empire should pay the eastern an annual tribute of five hundred thousand florins. On this haughty answer, count Caprara proposed to retire; but the grand vizier retained him, according to the policy of the Turks, who always keep in their army the minister of the power with which they are at war, either to be in readiness for any conferences with respect to peace, or as a hostage in case there should be room for reprisals. They signified even to this ambassador the treaty concluded between Tekli and the Porte. It contained in substance, that Tekli should be prince of Hungary; that his subjects should have liberty to elect another prince after his death; that the grand seignior should guaranty to the Hungarians all their ancient privileges, that he should defend them with all his forces, and not conclude any treaty with the house of Austria, without including them therein; that the Hungarians should have free liberty in future to trade to any part of Turkey; that the tribute which they should pay the Porte should never exceed forty thousand ducats, and that the prince of Hungary should keep a minister at the Porte as the other powers. Leopold, despairing to avert the storm gathering in the east, began to think seriously of the means to defend himself. He prevailed on the pope to form, between Poland and the empire, an alliance that should render these two powers

powers the bulwark of Christendom. Innocent J.C. 1681, & 1682.  
**XI.** always dreaded the attempts of the Infidels. Heg. 1092, & 1093.  
He persuaded king John Sobieski that the emperor of the West would give prince James, his son, an archduchess in marriage, and that this premier monarch of the Christian world; empowered to make kings in Europe, would make use of all his power to render the sceptre of Poland hereditary in the family of Sobieski. Count Velestin was sent to Warsaw, to conclude a treaty between the emperor of the West, and king John Sobieski and the republic of Poland. The two powers engaged not to make peace with the Porte, but in concert; and mutually to defend each other solely against the Turks, without this league's taking place against any other nation. The emperor agreed to keep seventy thousand men in the field, and twenty thousand in garrison; the king of Poland forty thousand, which he would command in person; and that if any of the other Christian kings or princes wished to join in this league, they should be admitted with the consent of the two powers. This treaty was confirmed at Rome in the beginning of the year 1683, and sworn to before the Pope by cardinal Pio, in the name of Leopold, and by cardinal Barberin, in the name of John Sobieski.

Meanwhile Caprara had been a witness at Constantinople of the greatest exertions in making preparation for war. The grand vizier, to  
please

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.

Marriage  
of the  
grand vi-  
zier with  
one of the  
emperor's  
daughters.

please his master, solicited him for one of the princeſſes his daughters in marriage, who was only eight years old. After this wedding, which was celebrated with all the cuſtomary expence and pomp, the monarch and his grand vizier ſet out for Adrianople, where the rendezvous of the army was. Several violent ſtorms, which happened juſt at this time, were thought, by ſuperſtitious people, a preſage that the expedition going forward would not be fortunate. The grand vizier's tent blown down by a whirlwind, and the horſe that he moſt commonly rode killed by thunder, were conſidered as ſigns of an approaching defeat; but the obſtinacy, incapacity, and folly of this general, portended his miſfortune with much more certainty than either the ſtorm or the clap of thunder. The Turks halted ſome time in the environs of Adrianople, to give the Tartars, Wallachians, Moldavians, and Hungarians, who are tributaries of the Porte, time to join the army. When all theſe auxiliary troops were arrived, under the command of their reſpective ſovereigns, the grand ſeignior was deſirous of ſeeing them paſs in review. A throne was erected on the Belgrade road, where the emperor ſeated himſelf ſurrounded by all the pomp of the Eaſt. Two hundred and twenty thouſand men filed off before him: never had the Turks diſplayed more magnificence in horſes, clothes, arms, and equipages. Four ſovereigns, who were to ſerve under the grand vizier, and more than twenty baſhaws, both

The army,  
aſſembled  
near Adri-  
anople, be-  
gins its  
march un-  
der the  
command  
of the  
grand vi-  
zier.

of

of the first and second order, were attended by a numerous retinue; some of them even had brought their wives, with all the train which the magnificence and the jealousy of the Ottomans make indispensable either with their wives or slaves. When all this pomp, more brilliant than formidable, had passed before the grand seignior, he solemnly gave the command of it to his grand vizier, who came the last and kissed the bottom of the vest of his master and father-in-law. Mahomet exhorted all the sovereigns and bashaws that he had put under the command of Cara Mustapha to live united and obedient to their chief, after which he retook the road to Constantinople, hunting as he went along. Ibrahim, one of the creatures of the grand vizier, who was only sangiac of a small province, was made caimacan. All the bashaws whom Cara Mustapha had feared, and who were going against the enemy under his orders, envied the lot of this upstart, who was to govern the empire, whilst they should be exposed, under a general without experience, to dangers which every one looked upon as certain.

As soon as Mahomet had left his army, the grand vizier conducted it towards Belgrade; and when he had passed the Save, he held a council in a place called Esseck, to determine the operations of the campaign. As it is much easier to conceive great projects than to execute them, Cara Mustapha was for marching straight to Vienna,

The grand vizier proposes to march to Vienna: all his lieutenants oppose this design.

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Heg. 1094.

in order, as he said, to attack the trunk of the tree at once, and get possession afterward of the branches with more facility. Tekli opposed this proposal in the council with great strength of argument. He represented the danger of crossing all Hungary and a great part of Germany with two hundred and twenty thousand men, leaving in their rear a number of fortified places, the garrisons of which would be continually harassing the corps that it would be necessary to detach to supply the wants of such a numerous army. He demonstrated the impossibility of providing magazines for so many people, in an enemy's country divided by so many fortresses, and in which the Austrians had so many soldiers. He added, that the taking of Vienna, admitting the possibility of their succeeding, would only raise up all Christendom against the Ottoman empire; that Lewis XIV. the ally of Mahomet IV. and natural enemy of Leopold, would be forced to serve the Germans against his friends, if the Mussulmen penetrated too far into Germany, as that prince, who styled himself eldest son of the Church, was more attached to the Christian religion, than to his designs against the house of Austria; that all the electors and all the circles, who formed as many heads in the Germanic body, so slow to assemble, and so different in opinion, would no longer have but one common interest and one voice against the conquests of the Mussulmen, and that, before they offended



so many enemies at once, it would be right to make themselves masters of the country and people which separated them from Austria; that the entire conquest of Hungary was become easy, by the number of friends, which he, Tekli, had made in that oppressed kingdom; that the Hungarians wished only for an opportunity to change master, and that one campaign would be sufficient, without much bloodshed or labour, to secure all the country, which would afterward furnish soldiers and provisions for those who were desirous of besieging Vienna. The opinion of Tekli, strongly supported by Cara Ibrahim, whom the grand vizier had feared in the divan, and had sent into Hungary the preceding year, had such an effect on the council, that Cara Mustapha, though so absolute, thought himself obliged to yield to this unanimity. He reserved for another occasion the catcherif which Mahomet IV. had given him, by which the grand vizier was invested with an absolute power, both for singly directing the operations of the war, and for distributing as he pleased the troops and generals under his orders. He marched to Raab, seeming as if he would lay siege to it: however, he had secretly sent emissaries into the odas of the janissaries and spahis, who complained of the attempts that were made to limit the power of the grand vizier; and that much precious time, and one of the finest armies seen in Europe for a long time, were wasted on paltry places

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Heg. 1094.

that ten thousand men would take as soon as two hundred thousand. They said intelligence had been received, that Leopold and all the imperial family had left Vienna, not doubting that the Ottoman army would direct its march thither; and that they were not permitted to follow the rout which the enemy himself seemed to open for them by his flight. All these rumours gained credit every day by the approbation of Cara Mustapha, and likewise by the money which he caused to be secretly distributed to those who complained loudest. When he thought the suffrage of the army might determine that of the chiefs, he brought the siege of Vienna again on the carpet in open council. Tekli, Cara Ibrahim, and the other bashaws, who were not to be shaken by popular rumours, repeated with the same liberty the same objections, still equally strong, as the circumstances were not changed. The grand vizier was incapable of opposing any thing to these just reasons but the catcherif of the Ottoman emperor, which, declaring him generalissimo of the army, gave him the entire decision, without his being obliged to consult either the bashaws or the sovereigns under him. After the reading of the catcherif, the grand vizier having declared that the army should decamp the next day to march for Vienna, all the council was silent. Cara Mustapha would fain get rid of Tekli, whose voice was of great weight, and who, even by his silence, appeared

Notwithstanding their resistance it is resolved on.

to disapprove openly the resolution which it was no longer time to oppose; he decided that the prince of Hungary should remain in his own country at the head of his troops, which were ten thousand men, and of ten thousand Tartars, and that with this army he should lay siege to Presburg. He left Hussian bashaw with a less body of troops to continue the siege of Raab, and marched himself towards Vienna, at the head of his army, as fast as it was possible to conduct a hundred and eighty thousand men. He sent count Caprara (the emperor of the West's ambassador) to the sultan; but he kept the Polish envoy with him, assuring him that he would have him hanged as soon as he should be certain that the king his master had joined his forces to the Austrian army, as rumoured abroad: for the Turks, always badly informed of what passes in other courts, were alone ignorant of what was public throughout Europe, and what so particularly concerned them.

It was true that the emperor Leopold had left Vienna for the security of himself and his family, before even it was known that the Turks menaced that capital of the Austrian dominions. Duke Charles of Lorraine, the emperor's brother-in-law, commanded his army, which did not then consist of more than thirty-seven thousand men, as the Polish, Saxon, and Bavarian troops, who were all to march under their respective sovereigns, had not yet joined him. Charles of Lorraine had undertaken

The duke of Lorraine marches to the succour of Vienna.

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dertaken the siege of Gran or Strigonia, in order that this place, which was well fortified, might serve as a bulwark to Germany. As soon as he had learned that the Ottoman army was coming towards Vienna, he raised the siege of Strigonia, and, making long marches, arrived soon enough to throw eight thousand men into Vienna under the orders of the governor count Staremburg, who had already a tolerable strong garrison. The duke went at first and encamped in the island of Leopold-Stadt, hoping to preserve a communication with the town; but having presently changed his mind, on account of his cavalry, which he was afraid to confine in an island, he decamped the day before the arrival of the Turks, and had time to destroy the bridges which he had himself constructed. He chose a more advantageous camp at some distance from the city, where he waited, without fear of being attacked, for the Poles, Bavarians, and Saxons, who all together would double the forces of the Austrian army.

At length the Turks arrived before Vienna about the middle of July. The brave fellows, who defended that place, were more dazzled with the splendor of their enemies, than terrified at their appearance. This army, almost without order, presented in an immense space a magnificence which the Austrians had never before had an idea of. All was gold, azure, and cloaks of great value; both men and horses seemed rather dressed for a splendid ceremony than armed for war.

The

The gold and precious stones which ornamented their arms, inspired the ardour of seeking this rich prey, rather than the fear of coping with those who displayed them. At length the tents were pitched, the trenches opened, the cannon began to roar, and the mines to blow up whole pieces of wall; they soon made themselves masters of some advanced works, which the governor thought too bad to throw away men in defending; but when the Turks had gotten possession of some old houses half burnt, they met with a vigorous resistance from the inner works. The citizens and students capable of carrying arms formed companies and became soldiers. Cara Mustapha, encouraged by his first success, vigorously attacked the place; but several sallies destroyed his works. He was constantly beaten by men, whom the love of their homes, their wives, and their children, had made soldiers. The avarice, or rather avidity, of the grand vizier, contributed greatly to the preservation of Vienna. Cara Mustapha was persuaded that this city contained immense riches, and was afraid, that, if it should be taken by assault, it would be pillaged. Believing likewise that the number of men in Vienna would only furnish the garrison, and that all the horrors of war would soon join him in the siege of this multitude, which he did not expect would receive any succour, his attacks became slower, and he contented himself with keeping up a continual fire from his batteries.

Meanwhile

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He makes  
detach-  
ments  
from his  
army,  
which go  
into Hun-  
gary and  
beat count  
Tekli.

Meanwhile the sage duke of Lorrain, who knew the danger of quitting a post where he daily expected the king of Poland and the two electors of Saxony and Bavaria, extended his views further than the siege of Vienna. Tekli was marching but slowly towards Presburg, which the Turks were desirous of making a magazine for supplying their army with necessaries; full of his hatred of the Austrians, he took pleasure in barbarously retaliating on them the horrors which the Hungarian malecontents had so long experienced; he remained in a village that he had sacked 'till he had butchered all the inhabitants without distinction of sex or age; and dogs abominably trained sought those unfortunate persons, who had sheltered themselves through terror in holes of rocks and deep caverns, to tear them to pieces. The spies of the duke of Lorrain informed him of what was passing in Hungary; he knew how to take advantage of the time which Tekli was losing by his barbarity. He sent the prince of Baden with twenty thousand men (which was nearly two-thirds of his army) to get possession by the shortest road of an advantageous camp for covering Presburg. The prince made three successful attacks in this expedition, equally advantageous for the defence of Vienna; first, he took an immense convoy of provisions and ammunition that the Turks were bringing from Hungary, and which they expected would be protected by Tekli; then, having learned that the chief of the male-

malcontents, in hopes to ravage more country, had separated from the Turkish bashaw, who had ten thousand men under his command, and that, overrunning each a different space, they were to join again before Pressburg, the Austrian general had the address to attack these two enemies separately, and the good fortune to beat them one after another. The bashaw, frightened at the defeat of Tekli, fled before the troops of the prince of Baden, who killed a thousand of his men; and who, leaving in Pressburg a garrison and one part of the convoy of provisions and ammunition, brought back the rest to the camp of the duke of Lorrain.

Meanwhile the siege of Vienna continued; the fire from the batteries did great damage to the ramparts. The duke of Lorrain, who observed from his camp all the motions of the Turks, sent different corps to attack detachments of janissaries and spahis, and generally succeeded in defeating them.

Continuation of the  
siege of  
Vienna.

Six weeks passed in this manner, the grand vizier summoning the city from time to time to surrender, under pain of all the inhabitants' being put to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, for he knew better how to make menaces than to dispose attacks, and count Staremburg sending to the camp of the duke of Lorrain messengers in disguise, who passed, by swimming, several arms of the Danube, in order to keep up a correspondence between the two generals. Staremburg

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Heg. 1094.

Leopold  
presses the  
king of  
Poland to  
go to the  
succour of  
this place.

remberg wrote, that the breaches grew larger, that every day he lost men, that ammunition began to fall short, and that, if the Turks should at length risk an assault, it was possible that the town would be carried in spite of the valour of the besieged, who could do no more than die in the breach. The duke of Lorrain, too weak to undertake any thing, wrote to the emperor Leopold in order to hasten the succours; and the latter, who considered the safety of the western empire as depending on that of Vienna, wrote in his turn to the king of Poland the most pressing and humble letters, lavishing on him the title of majesty, which the German haughtiness had till then refused an elective king; and telling him, that if his troops were retarded in their march, he conjured him to make more diligence than his army, in order to succour Vienna at least with his military talents and the good fortune that had ever accompanied him.

The news of a reinforcement's rapidly advancing, could not determine the grand vizier to press the siege. Those, who had formerly endeavoured to divert him from the enterprise, now repeated to him, that the moments were too precious to be lost; that he was consuming a fine army which the famine, that was already felt, would reduce perhaps to nothing, and that he neglected his operations premeditatedly. Cara Mustapha replied, that, if his army wanted provisions, the besieged must want them more. He

was



was determined not to let the town be taken by storm, but to starve it into a surrender, lest his soldiers should seize the booty which Mustapha had a mind to preserve for the grand seignior and himself; for the grand vizier was accused by some of meditating to divide the eastern empire after having enlarged it, and that his only reason for wishing so much for the riches which he supposed to be in Vienna, was that he might be the better able to appropriate this conquest to himself. Be that as it may, the janissaries and topggis quartered in the out works were forbidden to penetrate further; and as their impatience led them sometimes to scale breaches which they thought practicable, rather than remain exposed to the batteries that killed a great many of them, the grand vizier published, that he forbade, under pain of death, the commanders of corps to attempt any assault, however easy it might appear to them. The janissaries, irritated, and knowing that the garrison expected succours, exclaimed: "Come on, Infidels, the sight of your hats suffices to make us flee." The Infidels, as they called them, appeared in reality. Sobieski, too prudent to risk with twenty-five or thirty thousand men (for he had not brought so many troops as he had promised) to pass the bridges of Vienna in presence of such a numerous army as that of the Turks, learned that about twelve miles from thence, near a village called Tûln, there was a very large bridge, which the grand

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Heg. 1094.

Sobieski  
arrives in  
sight of  
Vienna.  
He is joined  
by all  
the auxili-  
ary troops.

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vizier had not taken the precaution to destroy. The king of Poland took advantage of this neglect and thought it a good omen. "This man," said he publicly, "is an ignorant fool or a blunderer; we shall beat him certainly." This prince had joined the Austrian army at the head of two thousand horse only; but his army had followed him at a short distance, as likewise the reinforcements from the circles of the electors of Bavaria and Saxony. At length the fifth of September, when all the Austrian forces were united, they counted seventy-four thousand effective men under the command of Sobieski, three sovereigns, and twenty-three princes of sovereign families. The Polish cavalry, less incumbered with ornaments than that of the Turks, was neat, brilliant, and well mounted; the infantry, though badly clothed, did not appear less formidable for it. As a regiment, the soldiers of which were almost naked, was filing off before the king of Poland in presence of the princes, who seemed astonished at this apparent misery: "These fellows," said Sobieski, "never clothe themselves but with the vestments of the enemy; last war they were all dressed like Turks." The cannon, which thundered continually on the ramparts of Vienna, were heard at Tuln camp, and they learned that the besieged were so afflicted with an epidemical dysentery, that it was with difficulty the number of men sufficient to guard the ramparts

parts could crawl thither; that provisions became scarcer every day, and that a great many men were already dead with fatigue and hunger. The duke of Lorrain had just received a note from count Staremborg, which contained these words only: "There is no more time to be lost, my lord, no more time to be lost." The king of Poland could not conceive how the enemy remained idle, whilst the smallest efforts would make him master of this important place. As the Austrian army was separated from the Turks by a tract of hills only, there were two roads to march to Vienna: the one over the hills, and the other round under them. It is easy to conceive how dangerous the first must be for the passage of an army. Sobieski made choice of it contrary to the advice of his council. "The moments are too precious" said he, "to think of sparing men; here the shortest road is the best." As soon as the Christian forces were assembled, the besieged were informed by signals that they should soon be succoured. It was to be feared that the arrival of the Poles would determine the grand vizier to make an assault; he would have had time, seeing the numerous obstacles which this army encountered at every step, obstacles that exposed them a whole day to the view of the Turks from the top of the hills, on the summit of which the soldiers had to sustain themselves; but the grand vizier's

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Heg. 1094

obstinaey prevented his seeing what all his lieutenants earnestly endeavoured to point out to him. The contempt which he affected for the Austrian army served him for a pretext; and he again forbade the assault which the bashaws were desirous of making. In his opinion, the town was on the point of surrendering, and the troops, arrived too late for its succour, could not fail of being beaten. As soon as the Poles perceived, from the heights, the camp of the enemies whom they had to fight with, they felt the joy experienced by labourers at the prospect of a plentiful harvest. Asiatic luxury and the greatest disorder reigned at the same time over this vast extent of ground, where were scattered here and there magnificent tents; beautiful horses richly and superbly caparisoned; a multitude of slaves and private soldiers, better clothed than the Polish officers; the arms and baggage lying in confusion; troops encamped on both banks of some arms of the Danube, and in islands lying in the middle of this great river, without there being sufficient communication for squadrons or even battalions to pass with expedition; and neither lines of circumvallation nor redoubts, "What an ignorant fellow this vizier is," repeated Sobieski continually, "how we are going to beat him!"

Battle before Vienna.

At length the twelfth of September arrived, the day on which Sobieski had resolved to give battle, a day so much desired by the Austrians, and

and especially by the besieged. Cara Mustapha saw what he had never believed possible, the army of the western empire descend from the hills, on the declivity of which they had passed the preceding night, form in order of battle as they came down into the plain, and extend their front as the ground enlarged. Twenty-eight pieces of cannon, which the Poles had found means with great difficulty to get across the hills, were at the head of the battalions, and made a heavy fire every time any Turkish or Tartarian squadron drew near to reconnoitre their forces. The khan of the Tartars pointed out to the grand vizier from a great distance the guards of Sobieski, which he knew by the colour of the bandrols that ornamented their lances, and he concluded from thence that that prince was at the head of the army. Cara Mustapha instantly ordered all the prisoners to be massacred that we rein the camp, both those taken during the siege, and those which Tekli and the khan of the Tartars had brought to his army from the provinces of Hungary that they had desolated. All these unfortunate people were put to death notwithstanding their cries for life, their chains not permitting them to hold up their hands in supplication to their executioners.

In the beginning of the battle the duke of Lorraine, who commanded the right wing, broke and put to flight the enemy's left wing: the janissaries, who had complained aloud of the numerous faults  
of

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Heg. 1094.

Sobieski  
puts the  
Turks to  
flight.

of Mustapha, fought badly, or not at all. It was necessary for them to mount from their valley against the main body of the Austrians, defended by several pieces of cannon, the frequent discharges of which, made at a small distance, swept their ranks and soon put them to flight. The advantage of ground rendered it impossible for the Turks to engage on any equality, who vainly attempted to close with the enemy. The magnificence of the chiefs rendered them a conspicuous object for their opponents, who generally marked with success, and the loss of so many officers soon put the infantry to flight. The spahis, at the head of whom the grand vizier had always been, stood a longer time, and alone of all the army shewed the ancient Ottoman valour; but at length they were obliged to yield to the torrent, and, against their inclination, to join in the flight. The hatred which the Turks had for the grand vizier contributed greatly without doubt to the losing of the battle. But if seventy thousand men, fatigued with a long and painful march, beat and dispersed more than a hundred and forty thousand all fresh and prepared for the attack, the skill of a general, such as Sobieski, must, without doubt, have conducted the soldiers with that confidence in their chief, which the Turks wanted so much in theirs. The grand vizier flattered himself, that his troops would recover in an open place the courage which they had lost in unequal ground. Some troops,

troops, that had not engaged, waited for the vanquisher at a little distance, who advanced after having broken the first line; but the rout was the same at this second charge as at the first; every thing was to give way to Sobieski this day. The efforts of the Turks only exposed more victims to the sword of the Christians. The vizier soon perceived, that the battle was irreparably lost; he ran to his tent to save the standard of Mahomet, which he had left there perhaps with an idea of what would happen. The solitude that reigned in the camp, the acclamations of the vanquishers, and the groans of the wounded heard at a distance, drew from him tears of rage; but time was precious. He heard horses leaping the intrenchments, and did not yet know, if it were the spahis earnestly endeavouring like himself, to save what they had most valuable, or the Austrians hastening to plunder the camp. He fled amidst a troop of dispersed horse, who, no longer hearing the voice of any chief thought only of their own safety. The terror was so general, that almost all those who could reach Raab did not stop 'till they were before the ramparts of that town situated five and twenty miles from Vienna.

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Sobieski, master of the field of battle, would by no means permit his troops to pillage. He marched in good order to the trenches that surrounded the city, which the janissaries had abandoned almost at the commencement of the action.

He delivers  
Vienna.

Vienna

J.C. 1683. Vienna being now free, the citizens resigned them-  
 Heg. 1094. selves to a joy equal to the danger that they had run. Sobieski, fearing the enemy would return, forbade any soldier to quit his colours under pain of death, and he lay on the field of battle with his army. The soldiers were, as one may say, in their ranks, ready to resume their arms on the least alarm. At six o'clock in the morning, Sobieski being quite certain of the total retreat of the Turks, abandoned their camp to the avidity of the soldiers. The first sight that presented itself, was a heap of female bodies still palpitating, who, not having been able to follow their husbands in their flight, had been massacred by them through that sentiment of jealousy so natural to the Orientals, which makes them rather put their wives to death, than let them be taken by the enemy. Sobieski had a great number of children picked up, who were still sucking the bosoms of these unfortunate women. The bishop of Neustadt baptized five hundred of them, and undertook to maintain and bring them up in the Christian religion: The Poles found likewise in the camp Troski, the envoy from their republic, whom Cara Mustapha had sworn to put to death, if his master were really at the head of the Austrian army, which the grand vizier had only a supposition of. But in the hurry of his flight, he had not had time to think of his vengeance. Troski saw himself preserved as by a miracle, from the death that had menaced him

for



for six weeks. One may suppose what booty the Poles made amidst so much riches. What appears strange in our manners is, that the generals and even the king divided with the soldiers the fruits of this day. Sobieski wrote to his queen, that the grand vizier had left him his heir, and that he had found several thousands of ducats in his tent, "so you won't say to me," continued he, "what the Tartarian women say to their husbands: you are no men, since you return without booty." This battle lasted six hours, tho' the Turks defended themselves very badly, as the ground, unequal and divided by morasses, ditches, and rocks, rendered all attacks difficult. The historians, who do not agree in the number of the dead on both sides, say unanimously, that there never was a battle so decisive which cost less blood. The next day count Staremberg came at the head of his men to thank the deliverer of Vienna. Sobieski, surrounded by the companions of his glory, entered triumphant into this place through the breaches which the Turks had never dared scale. Nothing can be compared to the joy expressed by the people, or the demonstrations of gratitude and admiration which the citizens vied with one another in shewing him whom they called their saviour. The king was stopped at every step as he advanced, fearing lest his horse should crush the people of all sexes, ranks, and ages, who prostrated themselves before him. They separated him from his officers and guards

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.

Triumphant entry of Sobieski into Vienna.

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.

to dispute the happiness of kissing his garment. The confusion that accompanied this triumph, which is one of the most moving of which history has preserved us the remembrance, heightened the pleasure of it for the triumpher, and for those who paid him these honors, multiplied and repeated continually through the most heartfelt gratitude. When Sobieski had arrived with much difficulty at the metropolitical church of Vienna, which was the end of his journey, *Te Deum* was celebrated to attribute to the lord of hosts the glory of which he is the author; but amidst the prayers which the Austrians addressed to the Almighty, they did not forget the instrument which God had made use of. After the *Te Deum*, the dean of the metropolitical church mounted the pulpit to exhort the people to acknowledge the hand of God, who had saved them from the most cruel captivity; he took for the text to his discourse these words from the Gospel of St. John: *Fuit homo missus à Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes.\**

The emperor Leopold, to whom Sobieski had undoubtedly rendered a greater service than to any of his subjects, was he perhaps of all the Austrians who shewed least gratitude for it. As he was returning to Vienna, he heard the firing of the artillery which celebrated the triumph of the king of Poland. His first sentiment was that of jealousy. He bitterly reproached those who

\* There was a man sent from God, whose Name was John.

who had advised him against going to the siege. J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.  
It was impossible for Leopold not to see the prince who had preserved him his crown; but the difficulties of the ceremony made him defer this compliment a long time. The emperor having asked the duke of Lorraine how he ought to receive Sobieski: "With open arms," replied the duke, "he has saved the empire." Nevertheless Leopold would never give the right in his palace to his deliverer, whom he had called his majesty when he so earnestly solicited him to come to his assistance. He never thought then, as he did after the victory, of making a distinction between the condition of an elective king and that of a king born to reign. At length it was settled, that the interview of the emperor and the king of Poland should be on horseback in an open place. Sobieski shewed on this occasion how superior distinguished merit is to the haughty, base jealousy which endeavours to dazzle by the magnificence of rank. Leopold thanked him in a cold, embarrassed manner, to which Sobieski replied, turning short: "Brother, "it gives me great pleasure that I have been "able to do you this trifling service." Notwithstanding the ingratitude and haughtiness of Leopold, the king of Poland, who felt the recompense of his services in the glory with which they covered him, and who also hoped that a continuation of his success would procure his son the throne of Poland after him, thought only of completing

Interview  
between  
the emper-  
or of the  
West and  
the king  
of Poland.

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.  
his work. He reassembled all the German troops and his own with intention to seek the enemy; but it is time to return to the Turks, from whom the pleasure of contemplating Sobieski as a conqueror has too much taken our attention.

The Turks  
flee.

The rendezvous of the routed Ottoman army had been accidentally at Raab. All these soldiers, dispersed by fear, had taken refuge in the camp which they had left before that place. When they had recovered their breath, and terror had given place to shame, the grand vizier endeavoured to palliate his fault by injustice, murder and calumny. He accused those who had tried to dissuade him from laying siege to Vienna, of having drawn him thither; and as it would have been difficult to maintain such a fallacy in presence of those who composed the council, where Tekli had endeavoured so much to prevent this rash undertaking, he sent for them one after another, beginning with Cara Ibrahim, and had them secretly strangled to the number of eight, publishing afterward what he pleased of these reputed culpable men, who could not be justly reproached with any thing but having shared the discouragement of the troops, and given them the example of flight. He wrote the sultan his master, that he had washed away in the blood of these rash men the fault which he had committed in trusting to their advice, and that having lost but few men in the battle which had obliged him to raise the siege of Vienna, the misfortune

fortune was of no other consequence than the having vainly thrown away much precious time. He no longer thought but of keeping on his guard the rest of the campaign, without resuming the siege of Raab, which the body of troops left before it had not the least advanced. He reinforced the garrisons of Gran, Viwar, and Buda, and remained himself at this place with the broken remains of his army, sending out a flying camp of eight thousand men only, under the command of a young bashaw, called Mustapha like himself, who was also bostangi pachi. This troop having advanced into the neighbourhood of Strigonia to reconnoitre the enemy, did much better, for it had the honor to beat Sobieski in person, who, pursuing his victory too far, had indiscreetly advanced at the head of a body of Poles, in the persuasion that he should meet nothing but dispersed soldiers and troops without courage. The king learned, in fighting a young general who commanded a less number of men than himself, that an enemy just beaten should never be contemned, and that in war order and precaution are as necessary for victorious armies, as for those which have been vanquished. The bostangi's corps of troops, which marched in good order, met Sobieski's troopers negligently scattered over a rather considerable extent of ground. The Turks were soon in battle; they vigorously charged the first Polish squadrons whilst the rest of the troops were reassembling precipitately

J.C. 1683-  
Heg. 1094-

Sobieski, who pursues them with too much eagerness, is beaten by a corps of troops.

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.

precipitately without forming their ranks. Sobieski could never unite them but by parties, and these only offered more front to the fire of the Turks. The flight of the Poles soon became general, and the king himself, borne away by the torrent, was like to perish by the hands of some spahis who knew him, and who were exasperated against his person. He was saved by the love of his subjects, several of whom covered him with their bodies. The Polish horses began to be worn out with fatigue, (the Turks constantly pursuing,) when they met the duke of Lorrain conducting his Austrians in good order to their assistance. As soon as Sobieski perceived him: "Duke of Lorrain," cried he, "I have attempted to vanquish without you, and am punished for it, but I will seek my revenge with you and for you." The bostangi was afraid of losing the fruit of his victory by an action of temerity; as soon as he perceived a fresh troop superior in number, he ordered the retreat to be sounded, and returned towards his camp in good order, carrying with him standards, colours, kettle-drum-aprons, and several other trophies. No general without doubt is infallible; but the faults of a great man stimulate him to obtain success. Sobieski was nobly revenged, as he had promised the duke of Lorrain.

The young bashaw, too much inebriated with his success, wrote the grand vizier, that he had so routed the Poles, that he did not believe their  
army

army could ever get together again, and that he desired to have a reinforcement to complete their destruction. The grand vizier having sent him

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.

twenty thousand men only, near the fort of Barkan in the suburbs of Strigonia where he was encamped, Sobieski, with all the confederate troops, marched, two days after his defeat, against this general so proud of his victory. The Poles animated by the shame of their flight, and the Austrians, full of the desire of avenging their allies, charged, to the number of fifty thousand men, twenty-eight thousand Turks, who did not expect to be so soon attacked, and, taking them in flank, confused and dispersed them, making a terrible carnage, after three or four charges; in each of which the Turks lost their bravest men, their commander, with all his lieutenants, and the principal officers of the spahis and janissaries; the rest of the army fled in disorder; a bridge of boats, hastily thrown over the Danube, gave way under the multitude earnestly endeavouring to gain the opposite side; almost all the Ottomans perished by the fire, the sword, or the river. Some soldiers, who escaped in a very small number, communicated to the grand vizier the terror which had seized them: this general, instead of endeavouring to oppose the torrent with the rest of his army, still superior in number to his enemy, moved off from Strigonia, and abandoned that town to the rapidity of Sobieski's success, who, in less than four days, had the gates opened to

Sobieski,  
assisted by  
the duke  
of Lorrain,  
beats them  
in his turn

Strigonia  
and Caidin  
taken by  
Sobieski.

him.

J.C. 1683, him. As the season was advancing, it was time  
 Heg. 1094. { to go into winter quarters. The king of Poland,  
 in returning towards Cassovia, surprised Cestlin  
 likewise, which made no defence. The grand  
 vizier, who retreated himself as far as Belgrade,  
 took advantage of the bostangi pachi's victory to  
 present his master with a pleasing picture of the  
 state of affairs, and to make him believe his troops  
 had had great success. As he was desirous of  
 procuring the support of the valid sultaneſs, and  
 knowing the means to make his peace with that  
 princess, he sent a Jew of his retinue with a letter  
 to her, and several jewels of great value saved  
 from the pillage of the camp before Vienna. As  
 he was going to give his envoy an escort, lest he  
 should be plundered by the way, this man could  
 not help saying to his master: "I have a much  
 " more effectual way to avoid robbers than the  
 " most numerous escorts: I will disguise myself  
 " like a Pole or a German, and the sole sight of  
 " my cap at a great distance will put all the  
 " Turks or Tartars to flight."

Efforts of  
 the grand  
 vizier to  
 justify his  
 conduct.

The valid sultaneſs, who had always esteemed  
 this minister, and who preserved a great in-  
 fluence over her son, persuaded the sultan, that  
 all the mischief which the bashaws sacrificed  
 had done, had been repaired by the sagacity  
 of the vizier. But when the news arrived of  
 the defeat of Barkan, the taking of Strigonia,  
 the immense losses which reduced such a fine  
 army to less than half, that the discouragement

of



of the troops was at its height, and that Hungary and Austria were covered with Turkish deserters who quitted the turban, as they said, to seek bread, which was refused them in their army; when Tekli, whom Cara Mustapha had accused, was come to Constantinople to justify the conduct and memory of those to whom the grand vizier imputed all these misfortunes; the janissaries that remained around the Ottoman emperor, and those who composed the divan and the corps of ulema, began to clamour against this unjust minister, who punished for his faults those who had endeavoured to divert him from them. To add to the misfortune of Cara Mustapha, the valid sultaneſs died in the middle of these disturbances. The emperor's sister, the widow of Cara Ibrahim, a lieutenant general, and the grand vizier's first victim, took care to have all those heard who had complaints to make. The janissaries assembled one day in the second court of the seraglio whilst the divan was sitting; and when they had learned that the grand seignior, frightened with their clamours, had shut himself up in his haram, they protested that they would not eat 'till the death and dishonor of their chiefs and comrades were avenged by the punishment of those to whom they ought to be imputed. This growing sedition having alarmed the ministers, who wished in their turn to alarm the prince, they sent the kislar aga to warn him of the danger of an insurrection, which he had always dreaded more than

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1094.

any thing else, and that made him wander the greatest part of his life in the woods and fields. No one any longer spoke in favor of Mustapha; even the defterdar added to the many reasons for proscribing this minister, that his fortune would bring the public treasury the immense sums that he had taken from thence to raise a numerous army, which his obstinacy, incapacity, and cowardice, had almost dispersed, and which his riches, and those left by the valid sultaneſs, would amply repair. Mahomet IV. came out

He is how-  
ever con-  
demned to  
death.

of his haram to ſign the catcherif which condemned the grand vizier to be ſtrangled. This order was no ſooner written, than it was ſhewn to the odas of janiffaries who beſet the avenues of the divan, the ſight of which quieted and diſperſed them immediately. Mahomet had not ſigned this catcherif two hours, before he received letters from Cara Mustapha, who deſired his permiſſion to put to death ten officers of his army, who were become the firſt in rank ſince he had cauſed the eight baſhaws to be ſtrangled. As ſanguinary and abſolute as Mustapha was, he, durſt not take on him to order new executions, though he thought them neceſſary to bury every thing in oblivion that had paſſed in the council of war where the ſiege of Vienna had been reſolved on, and to be able to defend his own conduct ſince that ſiege. He endeavoured likewise to throw violent ſuſpicions on count Tekli, who really had not ſerved the Turks with  
the

the zeal of an ally, and who, throughout the whole course of the war, appeared the secret enemy of both the Austrians and Ottomans. This letter would have decided the death of Cara Mustapha, if it had not been already resolved on. Two men only were charged with the execution of it. The chiau pachi, and the capiggi kiasi, the one chief of the messengers, the other lieutenant of the guards of the inside of the seraglio, were dispatched to this man the most absolute in the empire to demand of him his head, whilst he still commanded more than eighty thousand soldiers accustomed to tremble before him. But Cara Mustapha was only feared. The troops saw with great joy these officers, whom they suspected to be charged with a fatal order against this general whom they no longer beheld but as an incapable, bloody tyrant. The grand vizier received with tolerable firmness the order which deprived him of the seals; he delivered them to the chiau pachi without hesitation. But when the capiggi kiasi shewed him the catcherif that condemned him to death, he uttered some imprecations against fortune and against the emperor, whom he called several times an unjust and ungrateful prince. Having observed, on the countenances of those that surrounded him, the general pleasure which this order caused, *It is time to die*, cried he; and he put himself the bow-string around his neck, which two executioners drew tight, after he had said aloud a short prayer.

J.C. 1683. His head was severed from his body, and after-  
 Heg. 1094. ward embalmed to be carried to Constantinople,  
 where it was exposed to the eyes of the people,  
 especially of the soldiery, whom this spectacle  
 rendered perfectly quiet.

J.C. 1684. It was necessary to appoint a new grand vizier.  
 Heg. 1095. The defeat of the army, the losses which the  
 state had lately met with, and the vengeance  
 which the emperor had taken for it on him to  
 whom he had formerly given so much sway, made  
 such an impression on those who surrounded this  
 prince, that two considerable persons refused suc-  
 cessively the first dignity of the empire. The  
 felictar aga, or sword-bearer, whom the grand  
 seignior loved more than all the rest of his court,  
 having been nominated to it, threw himself at  
 the feet of his master, and assured him, that he  
 was incapable of discharging the important duty  
 which his highness was desirous of intrusting to  
 him, that it was his wish never to separate from  
 the person of his master, and that he had neither  
 the talents nor the desire to command armies.  
 The reis effendi being then named, excused him-  
 self on account of his great age and his ignorance  
 in the art of war. At last, Carakaja Ibrahim, the  
 caimacan, accepted what it would not have been  
 prudent to refuse; for the grand seignior, being  
 greatly displeased at two of his favorites' having  
 excused themselves from assisting him in support-  
 ing a burden too heavy for his hands, named the  
 third with such a determined tone, that he did not

leave

leave him the liberty of excusing himself. The new minister, taking the seals of the empire thus against his will, resolved to disburden himself as much as he possibly could, of the management of a war, the issue of which was still more dangerous for the commanders of the army, than the ministry. Carakaja immediately proposed in the divan to negotiate with the Austrians ; but there was no room to hope that Leopold would grant tolerable conditions, and the ministers could not yet resolve to conclude a disgraceful peace. Mahomet had always heard the Ottoman arms, the valour of his troops, and the glory of his empire, spoken of with enthusiasm. He expected his generals to vanquish in his name, and his ministers to procure from the people wherewithal to maintain numerous armies, whilst he should peaceably enjoy delights which he believed inseparable from the throne of the Ottomans. He bitterly reproached the new grand vizier in open divan, on the discouragement with which he spoke of the operations of the subsequent campaign. One day, as this minister was discoursing with the other bashaws of the bench, and insisting on the necessity of treating with the Austrians, the dangerous window opened, and Mahomet, interrupting Carakaja, spoke to the bashaws of the bench, and the grand vizier himself, with the tone of a master who foresees no obstacle, because he does not imagine there can be any to his pleasure. The situation of the Porte, however,

J.C. 1684.  
Heg. 1095.

Carakaja, who accepts it against his will, vainly endeavours to conclude a peace.

J.C. 1684.  
Heg. 1095.

was growing worse every day; for, while Carakaja was seeking the means to face the enemies of the empire, a new one sprung up which he had not thought of.

The re-  
public of  
Venice de-  
clares war  
against the  
Turks.

The Venetian ambassador, having desired an audience of the grand vizier, came with very few attendants; and, without taking the seat which had been prepared for him, declared war against the Porte in the name of his masters. On his return to his palace, he was arrested, as he expected; but having disguised himself, he deceived his guards, and got on board a vessel, which set sail the next day. The arrogance of the Turks, and the misfortunes of their last campaign, occasioned this rupture. They had twice insulted the Venetians in a very short time; first, by seizing some bales which arrived in the same vessel that brought the Venetian ambassador, under pretence of their containing merchandise subject to duties, though by the law of nations every vessel that carries an ambassador is exempt from searches, as likewise his house; and secondly, it being reported that a slave had concealed himself in the vessel which was to carry home the old ambassador, the person charged with the police of the port caused this ship to be searched, notwithstanding the resistance of the crew, of which there were several wounded. These motives were more than sufficient for declaring war against a nation already weakened by several defeats, and which had powerful enemies to cope with. The

marine

marine of the Ottoman empire was in the worst order, and the great expences occasioned by the war, did not leave enough in the public treasury to repair it. It became necessary to put a stop to commerce, and send to the coasts of Barbary and the Archipelago for all the vessels able to keep the sea. Immediately after the war was declared, the Venetian fleet, commanded by Morosini, the same who had defended Candia, went to take the isle of Saint Maura, at the entrance of the gulf of Larta, which made but little resistance. From thence it sailed towards Dragonette, and put a garrison in Prévesa, another place which commands the entrance to the gulf. Meanwhile the grand vizier, attacked on all sides, made the greatest exertions to face so many enemies. The immense fortune of Cara Mustapha, (of which only a part was left the princess his wife,) and that of the valid sultaneſs, furnished money to maintain two armies, one of which was to oppose the Austrians, and the other to seek the Poles in their own territories, in order to fight separately these two formidable enemies; but the grand vizier, taught by the misfortune of his predecessor, had no inclination to expose himself to the dangers of war. He gave the command of the two armies to two seraskiers, who had served a long time in subaltern military capacities, and whom the misfortunes of the times and the cruelty of the last grand vizier had suddenly raised to the highest rank. Shaitan Ibra-

him

J.C. 1684.  
Heg. 1095.

J.C. 1684. him was sent against the Germans, and Solyman  
 Heg. 1095.

balhaw had the perilous charge of combating Sobieski. The duke of Lorrain took the field

Taking of  
 Vicegrad. first, and began the campaign with success. He

Misery of  
 Hungary. besieged Vicegrad as early as the month of March, and made himself master of it in a few days. He

offered by a manifesto a general amnesty to all the Hungarians who would quit the party of Tekli, and the nation in general the justice which they pretended had been hitherto refused them. This last promise was so vague, that but few Hungarians believed it sincere. Some however, terrified by the last campaign, sought their safety in the strongest party ; but the Hungarian general, having replied, by another manifesto, to the proposals of the duke of Lorrain, and treated his offers as snares and artifices, marched in person with twelve thousand men against some Hungarian lords who had returned to the obedience of the house of Austria. He burnt the counts of Baragotzo and Humanai in their houses ; and executed Chirnessi, Clebai, and Malkai on a scaffold as criminals of state. Thus the poor Hungarians, equally the victims of both parties, beheld nothing but fire and sword on either side, and were alike punished for having claimed their liberty, or sought peace after an unsuccessful war. The ease with which the duke of Lorrain had taken Vicegrad encouraged him to lay siege to Baccia, which cost him still less ; after which he marched to Buda, and invested that capital of Hungary,

just



just as the army of the seraskier Shaitan Ibrahim, reinforced by the troops of Tekli, arrived to cover it. The seraskier encamped in face of the intrenchments of the Imperialists, fatiguing them every day by continual skirmishes. The duke of Lorrain, between two fires, continued four months the operations of a very bloody siege. At length his army was attacked by a pestilential disorder, which so discouraged the troops, that they were ready to disperse. The duke of Lorrain decamped, without the seraskier's attempting to pursue him. The Turkish general was satisfied with having efficaciously opposed this torrent, and having saved the most important place of the country which was intrusted to his protection.

J.C. 1684.  
Heg. 1095.

Shaitan  
bashaw  
stops the  
progress of  
the duke of  
Lorrain.

The seraskier Solyman, who had been sent against the great Sobieski, was still more fortunate than his colleague. After he had traversed Walachia and Moldavia, two provinces which obey sovereigns less absolute than bashaws are in their governments, and had gained over one of those princes, the waywode of Moldavia, of the illustrious house of Cantacuzenus, a jeweller at Constantinople before he was waywode, the seraskier hastened his march to defend Kamienieck, which Sobieski longed to recover. The Poles, who had taken the field too late, being at length arrived on the borders of the Niefter, were on the point of throwing over a bridge in order to attack Kamienieck, when they discovered on the other side the army of Solyman bashaw, com-

And Soly-  
man that  
of Sobi-  
eski.

J.C. 1684.  
Heg. 1095.

posed of fifty thousand men, Turks and Tartars : this was half as many more than Sobieski commanded. The Tartars made several attacks from the other side of the river ; their horses, accustomed to swimming, had no occasion for bridges to carry them to the enemy ; but, notwithstanding these skirmishes, Solyman would never come to a general engagement. Podolia, a fertile province while it belonged to the Poles, was become poor and desolate since the Turks had been in possession of it. The inhabitants, who were farmers, had fled the law of Mahomet. The seraskier hoped the enemy would waste away on this arid, desolated spot, whilst he occupied a more fertile one. This campaign was thus passed in observations on both sides. The Poles suffered more than the Turks from famine and the assiduous guard that an army not very considerable was obliged to keep in the face of an enemy more numerous. The Turks were every where more fortunate this year than they could have expected ; even the Venetians did not do them so much mischief as they had reason to fear ; contented with taking some posts in the isles of the Archipelago, they did not attack the coasts, which, being without vessels or fortresses, seemed to lie open to pillage. The two seraskiers, by a firm and circumspect conduct, stopped, for this campaign, the torrent which had threatened their frontiers. Carakaja was highly pleased to think he had left the conduct of the war to subalterns  
who

who would be responsible for it, and who so far had met with no disadvantage. He continued his resolution not to command the army himself, and employed his time during the winter in recruiting and provisioning it.

J.C. 1684.  
Heg. 1095.

The revenues of the public treasury so lately drained were scarcely sufficient to maintain two great armies and a fleet, besides the garrisons that it was necessary to keep in pay throughout Asia, for fear of these disaffected people who had so often thrown off the mask when any storm had arisen in Europe.

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

The grand vizier wanted to make use of a resource that had been sometimes very useful to the state; this was the money belonging to the orphans of the empire, which the law of Mahomet permits to be taken at interest on account of the feebleness of the proprietors, to the exclusion of all other rents constituted in money, which would be considered as usurious, and consequently highly criminal, among the Mussulmen. The grand vizier purposed to oblige all guardians to bring to the public treasury the money which they managed for their wards, promising faithfully to pay the arrears; but as, in a despotic country, promises do not acquire confidence, and moreover, the merchants, who had employed this money in commerce, had no desire to restore it, no one hastened to comply with the order of the grand vizier, who in vain had recourse to violent measures. Notwithstanding the catcherif of the

The minister wants to take the property of the orphans at interest. Resistance of the people.

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

emperor, the people rose as soon as they learned that some guardians were imprisoned. The troops remaining in Constantinople took part with the oppressed citizens, and the whole city was in arms and disorder in a moment. It was impossible to collect this money whilst such resistance was made; it would have been necessary to put the effects of the refractory guardians up to auction. The people and the soldiers fell with fury on the chiaus who attempted to enter their houses. It would never have been possible to find collectors among so many people determined to prevent these sales which they thought oppressive. At length Carakaja saw himself constrained to renounce his project; happy that the sedition, which began to terrify him, could be quieted on such terms.

Neuhausel  
besieged by  
the duke of  
Lorraine.  
The seraf-  
kier Ibra-  
him deter-  
mines to  
succour it,  
and is  
beaten.

The grand vizier had but just recovered his fright, when he learned that the campaign was begun in Germany by the siege of Neuhausel, which the duke of Lorraine had undertaken early in the spring. His troops had blocked up that place all the winter. The seraskier Ibrahim, instead of marching to the assistance of Neuhausel, thought he should relieve it with more certainty by making a diversion. He presented himself before Vicegrad, which was taken as soon as besieged. As he was on his return, the duke of Lorraine, leaving sixteen thousand men before Neuhausel, hastened with the rest of his army against the Turks; he found them intrenched in

an advantageous camp, which he had the address <sup>J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096</sup> to make them quit, affecting disorder and a precipitate flight. As he knew the country better than the Turks, he drew him into a fenny bottom, where they were cut to pieces: he took their cannon, baggage, and military chest; and, without losing time in their pursuit, returned to Neuhaufel, which was carried by assault three days after this victory. These losses were followed by others still greater. Vicegrad, Novigrad, Tockay, and Eperies, opened their gates almost without resistance. Count Tekli having attempted to cover Cassovia with the troops which he had raised among his partisans, the duke of Lorraine sent count Caprara, one of his lieutenants, to besiege that place. Tekli, informed of the march of the Germans, dispatched a courier to the seraskier Ibrahim, who had retired to Waradin, to solicit succours from him; the latter sent back word to the chief of the Hungarians that it was necessary for them to confer together on their mutual defence, and that he begged to see him at Waradin, where he must bring only his lieutenants and a small escort. Tekli, void of suspicion, complied with the intentions of this commander, who appeared desirous of succouring him, and was received at Waradin with an apparent kindness. The seraskier invited him and his principal attendants to dinner: but, after the repast, as they were beginning to confer on the pressing wants of the Hungarians in subjection

to

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

Count  
Tekli is  
sent loaded  
with  
chains to  
the Seven  
Towers.

to the grand seignior, an oda pachi entered the room, escorted by several janissaries; he read aloud a catcherif from Mahomet IV. by which the seraskier was ordered to load the chief of the Hungarians with chains, and send him under a safe guard to the castle of the Seven Towers. This rigorous order having been executed, without any one's attempting to oppose it, the seraskier declared to the affrighted Hungarians that their chief was suspected of treason both against the Porte and them; that it was to him alone the invincible emperor of the Turks attributed the recent misfortunes in Hungary, and that his highness appointed general Petrozzi successor to Tekli, provided this new chief of the Hungarians served his sovereign paramount and his countrymen more faithfully than his predecessor had done. Petrozzi and his friends easily perceived that the seraskier, in his dispatches to the Porte, had thrown on Tekli the blame of what was past, lest he should himself be the victim of it. Being thoroughly resolved to repel treachery by treachery, they all promised the seraskier every thing that he asked, in order to free themselves from his hands. But they were no sooner returned to their army, than they strongly painted to the officers and soldiers the injustice done Tekli and the Hungarian nation, and prevailed on the major part of them to go to count Caprara, who commanded at the siege of Cassovia, and avail themselves of the amnesty offered those who

The Hungarians quit the party of the Turks in great number.

who should return to the obedience of the emperor of the West. Though Caprara was not generalissimo, and the Hungarians had carried arms against the empire since the amnesty was offered, he took care how he refused such an advantageous offer for his master. His camp was presently reinforced with almost all the Hungarians. Those, who continued enemies of the Germans, retired into different castles; the garrison of Cassovia, which was entirely composed of Hungarians, informed of these proceedings, opened their gates, not to vanquishers, but to friends.

The Turks were not more fortunate against the republic of Venice. This state had found means to form two alliances very formidable to the Porte, the Morlacks in Dalmatia, and the Mainots in the Morea. The former had heretofore thrown off the Turkish yoke on account of the cruelty of several bashaws. These people, since that time, bring up their children in such hatred of the Mussulmen, that a Morlack believes he has done a meritorious action in the face of God when he has killed a Turk in any manner whatsoever. The Venetians likewise gave them a pistol for every Turk's head, giving no other pay to these mercenary troops. The poverty, avidity, and particularly the hatred of the Morlacks, made them so formidable, that the Turkish garrisons remained shut up in their towns, without any corps venturing to appear abroad. These hardy people,

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

people, accustomed to sleep exposed to the inclemency of the air, to live on a little, even in the midst of peace, which they never observe but against their will, would be invincible, if their discipline were equal to their indefatigability. Their ferocity makes them still more terrible than their bravery, as whoever is attacked by a Morlack, has no way to save his life but by taking his enemy's. These barbarians think it equally as cowardly to give quarter as to run away.

Misfortunes of  
the Turks  
in Dalmatia and the  
Morea.

The Mainots, a people of the Morea, have preserved the hardness, agility, and patience in fatigues of the ancient Spartans, from whom they are descended. Defended by a long tract of mountains, they have taken advantage of this natural intrenchment to keep themselves equally from the authority of the Turks and Venetians. This little republic, the enemy of the two neighbouring powers, both of which would fain subjugate it, lends its succours indifferently to the one against the other, and finds in its position, and in the poverty and courage of its citizens, effectual arms against tyranny. The Morlacks fight like wild beasts; the Mainots like men who idolize their liberty. These were not the only two enemies that the republic of Venice had raised up against the Turks; a great number of volunteers from all the countries of Christendom filled the galleys of Malta, of the duke of Tuscany, and of the pope; and independent companies, raised at the expence of the court of Rome



Rome and several Italian princes, seconded the Venetians in the conquest which they meditated of all the Morea. Whilst the noble Paul Michael, at the head of the Morlacks and some national troops, was putting Dalmatia to fire and sword, Morosini commanded the combined army of Venetians, Maltese, Tuscans, and Mainots. After having defeated the Turks before Coron, which he had besieged, he took that town, as likewise Sarnat and Calamata. At length the captain bashaw, the seraskier of the Morea, after having lost two battles and three considerable towns, abandoned that province, covered with dead Mussulmen, to conquerors as cruel as fortunate. He fled to Rhodes, where he did not think himself in safety 'till the port was shut with the chain. The army sent against the Poles had barely some success, or, in better words, was less unfortunate than the two others. John Sobieski had, during the whole winter, been soliciting Constantine Cantimir, the waywode of Moldavia, to declare himself for the Christians, against Infidels, of whom he was rather the slave than the feudatory; but the Turks, agreeably to their policy, kept Demetrius, the eldest son of Constantine, in the seraglio of Constantinople, who was to answer with his head for the conduct of his father. The prince of the Moldavians, though a Christian in his heart, obeyed nature in serving his enemies against the Poles, whom he would willingly have protected. He did all he

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

J.C. 1683.  
Heg. 1096.

could to divert Sobieski from sending troops into Moldavia, pretending that the taking of Kami-nieck would be of more value to him than the conquest of a country which, in all appearance, would be soon the ally of Poland; but Sobieski knew none but friends or enemies in war. He intended his troops for the conquest of the do-minions of this prince, who would not declare himself. A slow fever prevented his conducting them thither in person. The grand general, Jablonowski, marched this army through three hundred miles of deserts, called Pokutia, Podolia, and Bucovina: all these provinces were peopled and cultivated before the Poles and Turks were at war. Solyman, the seraskier of Silistria, con-ducted forty thousand Turks, as many Tartars, and five thousand Moldavians, against thirty thousand Poles. He took advantage of his su-periority of number. A body of Tartars was sent by a by way to cut off the Poles and prevent their retreat by means of felling trees and inun-dations. Jablonowski did not discover the se-raskier's manœuvre till it was too late to secure the défilés. After having remained invested a fortnight, he resolved on the only resource left him, which was to flee certain death across a thousand dangers. His retreat was both bloody and painful; but the seraskier, who had the glory of stopping these Poles, till then so formidable, confined the exploits of the campaign to this useful defence.

Ill success  
in Poland.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the news that had arrived from all parts threw Constantinople into consternation. 1685.  
Aug. 1096.

The loss of the Morea and almost all Hungary, and the devastation of Dalmatia, were far from being balanced by the trifling advantage gained by the seraskier Solyman. The grand vizier having learned the ill effect which the captivity of Tekli had had on the malecontents, resolved to have the seraskier Shaitan put to death. Carakaja knew no better way to exculpate himself to his master. The captain bashaw Calil met with the same lot. Both being sent for to Adrianople, where the court was, were strangled without having been able to obtain an audience either of the grand seignior or his minister. Carakaja immediately ordered count Tekli to be released.

Count  
Tekli is  
set at  
liberty.

The seraskier Solyman bashaw, who had been sent for as well as the other two generals, thought for some time that the same lot was intended him. But his successes had drawn on him the eyes of the prince, of his minister, and of all the divan, as on the man to whom they were to look for the safety of the empire. The grand seignior wrote to him with his own hand, adding to this honor, which is very rare in the East, a vest lined with fable and a sword set with precious stones. This prince told him, that it was reserved for his talents and valour to recover Hungary and re-establish the affairs of the Ottoman empire. On this, Solyman resolved to gather the fruit of the dangers to which he was going to

Solyman  
bashaw  
gets the  
grand vi-  
zier de-  
posed, and  
succeeds  
him him-  
self.

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

be exposed, and particularly to remove from the court and government this cruel grand vizier who knew only how to distribute perilous employs, and to make those whom he charged with them responsible for events which he would not be answerable for himself. Solyman, being arrived at Adrianople, affected to blame every thing with a liberty that presaged badly for the minister who governed in the name of the grand seignior. He lamented to the prince the lot of Shaitan Ibrahim and the captain bashaw Calil, saying that he had seen them fight a long time with zeal and courage, attributing their defeat to the few troops which had been given them, the want of resources, and the discouragement of the soldiers, who no longer saw at their head the generalissimo of the nation, whose duty it was to chalk out the plans of the campaigns and be the first to expose himself to danger. After greatly lamenting the two proscribed generals, "In a word," said he, "I boldly ask the man who so severely condemned these unfortunate men, if he could have done better than they did." This boldness confounded the grand vizier, who, having attempted to say something in his own justification, was again interrupted by Solyman, who haughtily replied to him: "You know nothing of war; it does not become you to judge the generals, still less to presume to put them to death." Carakaja, perceiving that the grand seignior listened with a sort of pleasure

pleasure to the reproaches which Solyman made him, had no difficulty to comprehend that he was inevitably ruined. He left the seraglio without those, who had been witnesses of what had just passed, preparing to accompany him or pay him the respect due to the first officer of the empire; and Solyman, continuing to speak, undertook to prove, that if a peace could not be made, a grand vizier should be sent with full powers to act at discretion against this formidable duke of Lorrain, who had already conquered almost all Hungary. The sultan, persuaded by the eloquence and reputation of the seraskier, immediately sent to order Carakaja to deliver up the seals of the empire, and the vast property which he was said to have rapaciously acquired; and having asked the musti, who was present, if it would not be right to put this bad minister to death; the chief of the law, who was the friend of Carakaja, had the courage to take his part, saying, that faults of weakness or ignorance were not deserving of death. At length it was resolved that Carakaja should be solely stripped of his property and banished to the isle of Rhodes. He was granted a pension of one hundred and fifty aspers a day. The unfortunate minister let fall as much weakness at the news of his disgrace, as he had shewn incapacity during his administration. Persuaded that he was condemned to lose his life, he would not believe those who assured him that he was going to be exiled; and,

as

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.

J.C. 1685.  
Heg. 1096.  
as if the blood of Shaitan, Calil, and so many others, had condemned him in his own eyes, he begged with a flood of tears to have time to say his prayers and give his last orders. The confiscation of the property of this minister, though very useful for the public treasury, was not sufficient to prevent Solyman bashaw, become grand vizier, from turning into money a great part of the grand seignior's plate, all that had belonged to the deposed grand vizier, and likewise what had for several years past accrued from confiscations.

J.C. 1686.  
Heg. 1097.  
The grand vizier attempts in vain to make peace. He prepares to take the field.  
The success which the new grand vizier had had the preceding campaign, had not given him a good opinion of the war. He thought, that, if a prime minister, who remained constantly at the Porte, had been made responsible for the losses and misfortunes of the last campaigns, he, who had obtained the seals of the empire, only on condition of commanding the army, ran much more risk from the janissaries and people, in case the duke of Lorraine should continue his success. Under this apprehension he sought all possible means to treat with the western empire, so far, that he promised Mr. Degirardin, the French ambassador, the restoration of the Holy places, which the Greek Christians had usurped over the Latins, as we have already related, if the king his master would become mediator between the Porte, the western empire, the republic of Venice, and the kingdom of Poland. But, though  
the

the zeal of Lewis XIV. for the Roman catholic religion made him desire to have the Holy places again in the possession of the followers of the Romish faith, his policy would not permit him to free the Austrians of an enemy that constrained them to keep numerous armies on the opposite frontiers; he would only conclude a peace between Poland and Turkey, in order that the latter might become more and more formidable to Leopold. The Poles, though dissatisfied with the emperor of Germany, did not ask less than the restitution of Kamienieck to break this alliance. Solyman bashaw could not think of buying a peace at this rate with one enemy; he prepared as well as he could to make head against three powers, who were to attack him on three different sides.

The grand vizier possessed the confidence of the troops. The Asiatics and Europeans eagerly hastened to join his standard. The odas of the janissaries and spahis were presently complete; and, notwithstanding the recent misfortunes, the three armies were recruited by the end of the winter. Tekli, released from the prison of the Seven Towers, was indemnified by large sums for the confiscation of his effects; but his estates could not be restored him. Almost all the towns that had at first taken part with him had returned, since his detention, to the allegiance of the house of Austria. In vain did he publish a manifesto to revive the hatred of the Hungarians for the usurpers

J.C. 1686  
Heg. 1097

J.C. 1686. usurpers and to their love of liberty: the duke of  
 Heg. 1097. Lorraine was as much feared as admired through-  
 out Hungary, Tekli could scarcely collect ten  
 thousand men, almost all freebooters, who took  
 advantage of the troubles to desolate the country;  
 much more than they thought of serving their  
 party.

Tekli col-  
 lects some  
 troops.

Bad suc-  
 cess of the  
 Ottoman  
 army du-  
 ring the  
 whole  
 campaign.

The Imperialists, according to their custom, took the field before the Turks. The duke of Lorraine went with ninety thousand men to lay siege to Buda. The trenches were opened and the other operations just begun, when the grand vizier appeared with fifty thousand men at some distance from the camp. The Christians, superior in number, faced the Turks without slackening their attacks. Solymán had the mortification to see all the detachments that he sent beaten, and even those that he conducted himself to make a diversion. After a bloody and fatiguing siege of two months, the duke of Lorraine entered Buda through the breaches, and thus restored to the house of Austria the most important place and the capital of the kingdom of Hungary. He gave quarter to two thousand men left of the garrison. After this conquest, it would have been easy to vanquish the affrighted Turks; but the duke of Lorraine could not dispose as he pleased of the troops which the princes of the empire had brought under his orders, nor retain those who were desirous of going into upper and lower Hungary to besiege the places still

in



in possession of the Turks. While generals Husler and Caraffe were laying siege to Segedin, <sup>J.C. 1686.  
Heg. 1097.</sup> a strong town in upper Hungary, which they did not take till the trenches had been open ten weeks, the prince of Baden made himself master of Simonthorna, Kaposwar, and Five Churches; and general Scherfemberg took Ciglos and Esseck. Meanwhile the duke of Lorrain, with the troops that he had left, kept the Ottoman army in awe which the ascendancy of the Germans seemed to have enchained;

The seraskier of the Morea was not more fortunate against the Venetians. He had fitted out his fleet again in the beginning of the spring, in hopes of recovering some of the maritime places lost the preceding campaign; but Morosini, elated with his success, hastened against him, and obliged the Turkish commander to re-enter the straits of the Dardanelles, after which he took both the old and new Navarrin, and Napoli di Romania; and, in the mean time, Cornaro, who commanded in Dalmatia, beat the bashaw of that province twice. The king of Poland had penetrated into Moldavia a second time, and had desolated it, though the waywode Cantimir endeavoured to persuade the Poles that he was their friend. In short, every thing had succeeded so bad in the course of this campaign, that the grand vizier did not dare return to Constantinople, though his presence was so necessary there. He dreaded with reason the lot which he himself had procured

The grand vizier is afraid to return to Constantinople.

J.C. 1686, his predecessor. He wrote from Belgrade to the  
 Heg. 1097. caimacan of Constantinople, the son of the fa-  
 mous Kiuperli, and called Kiuperli like his father,  
 to endeavour to raise money, in order to repair;  
 if it were possible, by a more fortunate campaign;  
 the misfortunes of the preceding ones.

Discontent  
 of the peo-  
 ple at  
 Constanti-  
 nople.

What the prime minister had foreseen, really  
 came to pass. The discontent was so great at  
 Constantinople, that no one endeavoured to dis-  
 semble it. They complained aloud in the streets,  
 markets, and public squares. The imans stirred  
 up the people by their clamours; and as if the  
 object present was to be answerable for every  
 thing, all the blame was thrown on the grand  
 seignior. An iman had the boldness to address  
 the prince in open mosque to reproach him with  
 his effeminacy and pleasures, the little care that  
 he took of his empire, and the depravity of his  
 manners, which drew the chastisement of Heaven  
 on his subjects, whom it was his duty to make  
 happy. And indeed Mahomet was accused of hav-  
 ing more affection for the young icoglans, brought  
 up in the inner odas of the Seraglio, than for the  
 women that he kept in great numbers and at an  
 immense expence in his haram. The sentiments  
 of the people were so well expressed by the mi-  
 nister of the Alcoran, that his audacity remained  
 unpunished, and no one attempted to interrupt  
 his discourse, during which much confusion was  
 observed on the emperor's countenance. In des-  
 potic states, all is either total slavery, or unbridled  
 liberty.

liberty. Nothing was talked of at Constantinople but deposing the sultan; the whole body of ulema, and the few janissaries and spahis that composed the garrison, longed to put a brother of the emperor's on the throne; but they were afraid of being opposed by the army.

Meanwhile the caimacan had orders to raise large sums; but the moment was very unfavorable for gathering imposts. This minister, who knew mankind were subjugated by dividing them, thought he would not demand succours either from the merchants or timarians, who were the richest in appearance, but from the ulema, that made so much noise, the officers of the seraglio, whose profits were not less considerable for being unknown, the officers of the customs, and, in fine, all those who were employed in collecting money in the empire. The preamble of the catcherif which ordered this impost said, that in bad times it was necessary to have recourse to the last resources; that all the bodies of the state had contributed with their blood or their riches; and that it was just that those, who had profited most by the prosperity of the empire, should contribute to repair its misfortunes. It was in vain that the ulema made resistance; the caimacan sent the most considerable of them to the Seven Towers, and replied, to their numerous citations from the Alcoran, that they should not be released 'till they had paid this tax. It was collected amidst these murmurs

J.C. 1686.  
Heg. 1097.  
Imposts levied on the ulema and several private persons of the empire.

J.C. 1686.  
Heg. 1097.  
with great exactness both in Constantinople and in the provinces of the empire. But these supplies did not produce the effect that had been hoped for from them.

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1098.  
The Turks are beaten every where, and every where lose ground and places.  
The campaign of 1687 was every whit as unfortunate as the preceding ones. Morosini beat the seraskier of the Morea immediately on taking the field. This victory opened to him the gates of Patras, Lepanto, Misitra, which is the ancient Lacedemon, Corinth, and Setines, which is the ancient Athens; in short, he made himself master of the rest of the Morea and all Attica in the space of time necessary to travel over these vast provinces. General Cornaro was likewise vanquisher in Dalmatia; and after having totally defeated the bashaw of Bosnia, he laid siege to Castel-Novo, the strongest place in the country, which he took by assault, and made the garrison prisoners. The Poles gained but little ground; the son of their king Sobieski undertook and abandoned the siege of Kamienieck; but the glorious duke of Lorraine advanced still further into Hungary than the preceding year. Solyman bashaw was beaten near Mohatz, carrying away no other consolation than the having valiantly disputed the victory. He retired to Peterwaradin, and distributed the broken remains of his army in the neighbouring places. The duke of Lorraine feigned to besiege Temeswar in order to draw the Turks that way. After having engaged them in a false march, in less than six weeks

weeks he reduced Sclavonia, the fortified places of which made no resistance, and Transylvania; which the rapid success of the Austrians soon reduced to the obedience of the emperor of the West. The waywode of Transylvania, called Michael Abaffi, a thorough Austrian in his heart, had never been faithful to the Turks but through fear. He would scarcely appear to make any resistance to victorious troops.

The grand vizier, on his return to Peterwaradin, learned, that every day, since his defeat, had been marked by considerable losses. It was rumoured about that he had written to the Porte for permission to put several of his lieutenants to death, whom he accused of having been the cause of his losing the battle of Mohatz. As it was necessary to throw the blame of this defeat on some one, he hoped that his complaints would reach Constantinople before the clamours of the army, who accused none but him. The bashaws, whom he had been afraid to put to death, perceived that they were lost, if they did not openly attack this concealed enemy, more dangerous than an open one. Sciaus bashaw, the most considerable among them, who had the confidence of the army, having assembled the principal officers, resolved with them to revolt against him the first occasion. An opportunity soon offered. The grand vizier had sent several waggons loaded with ammunition and provisions to Agria, escorted by a thousand janissaries and five hundred spahis,

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1098.

The grand vizier attempts to throw the blame of these misfortunes on his lieutenants.

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1098.

Insurrec-  
tion against  
him. He  
leaves the  
army.

spahis, in hopes that this succour would give him time to reassemble his army, and force the enemy to raise the siege; but things turned out quite contrary. The waggons being met by a body of Austrians, were pillaged, and the fifteen hundred men defeated. The grand vizier thought it would be right to have this aga beheaded, who had so badly executed his mission. The preparation for this execution raised the janissaries, at the head of whom the bashaws cried aloud, that a timid, sanguinary general must not be permitted to put his highness's subjects to death, according to his caprice, when he was unable to face his enemies. Sciaus bashaw having reproached the grand vizier, at the head of the army, with his incapacity, avarice, and cruelty, Solyman would fain have him seized and punished immediately. All the janissaries quitted their ranks in concert, and the bashaws, agas, and odas pachis, having drawn their swords, the unfortunate grand vizier perceived, that he had no other choice left than death or infamy. He preferred the latter. As the day was nearly ended, he retired precipitately to his tent; and as soon as it was dark, he mounted his horse, and carried away the seals of the empire and the standard of Mahomet. Those, who saw him go off, would rather see him disgrace himself in the face of the whole empire, than dip their hands in his blood.

The news of this flight being spread, the bashaws assembled at break of day to name another general,

general. All unanimously proclaimed Sciaus bashaw. When he was presented to the troops, who had been put under arms for that purpose, the spahis and janissaries saluted him grand vizier, without its being possible to make them comprehend that no other than the grand seignior had a right to confer that dignity. As the army continued obstinate, even against the wishes of Sciaus; (for he repented already of having pushed the rebellion so far,) those, who were most animated, told him, that he must die immediately, or resolve to lead the army to Constantinople; on this Sciaus no longer hesitated. The mutineers sent four bashaws before them, to signify to the grand seignior the choice which they had made, and to let him know, that they were marching to Constantinople to receive nine months pay which was due to them.

R.C. 1637.  
Heg. 1098.  
Sciaus is elected grand vizier by the soldiers, who march towards Constantinople.

Solyman bashaw, who had fled from Peterwaradin to Belgrade, and from thence to Adrianople, stopped in that town to wait for orders from the Porte. The news of the revolt threw Constantinople into a general consternation. Mahomet tottered on his throne; and those, who had been of his councils or companions of his debauchery, waited in silence for the blow with which they were menaced. Solyman, being ordered to Constantinople, sent on the seals of the empire and the standard of Mahomet before him, hoping that this voluntary resignation would save his life and liberty. And indeed, when he arrived

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1098.

He arrived at the séraglio; the grand seignior received him kindly, lamented his misfortune, and asked advice from this feeble minister, who told him several times, that it was no longer time to resist, and that he must submit to circumstances.

The grand  
seignior  
confirms  
this elec-  
tion.  
How his  
deputies  
are receiv-  
ed.

The selictar aga or sword bearer was sent out against the army, and charged with carrying the grand vizier proclaimed by the troops the seals and the standard of Mahomet. They gave him for companions of his journey, the desterdar, who had fled with the vizier Solymán, and who hoped to be favorably received in consequence of the news which he brought, and the reis effendi Sciaus's friend. These officers were ordered to sound the malecontents, and to order the new grand vizier and the army to return from whence they came, if they would still acknowledge the authority of Mahomet. The sultan's three envoys met the army near Adrianople. On their informing the advanced guards of their mission, they were ordered to be conducted to the feet of this new minister; but only two of them reached his tent; for the troops, who hated the desterdar, because he had kept back their pay, tore him from his two colleagues, and killed him immediately. The selictar and the reis effendi being arrived, though not without terror, before Sciaus, this general received with indifference the seals and the standard which his master sent him; and as one of the deputies said aloud, that his highness declared Sciaus bashaw his grand vizier



vizier and generalissimo of his armies, those who accompanied the minister exclaimed that Sciaus was grand vizier already. The reis effendi having added that it was the intention of the sublime emperor that the army should return to the frontiers of Hungary: "We know better than he what is proper to be done," cried they all together, "we are going to Constantinople on purpose to tell him." The two deputies were ordered to withdraw, just as if they had been heralds of arms come to declare war; and the grand vizier replied to the selictar, who claimed the presents usually given when the prime minister receives the seals and the news of his appointment: "I was grand vizier before you arrived: as for the rest, I make you the most considerable present that you can receive, since I leave you your life."

When these deputies, who had been so badly received, were returned to Constantinople, the consternation increased. They said that the whole camp resounded with imprecations against the late grand vizier. Mahomet, whose terror rendered him cruel, resolved to have him beheaded, yielding to the advice which Solyman himself had given him, not to make any resistance against what the army should require of him. He had the vizier's head embalmed, and ordered those, who were to carry it to the malecontents, to assure them, that means were going to be taken not only to pay them what was al-

He has the late grand vizier Solyman put to death.

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1098.

ready due, but even to pay them for the future in advance, provided they would return to Hungary. And indeed the grand seignior had already made considerable reforms in his seraglio; in one day eight hundred fine women, turned out of the haram, were sold by auction to any one that would buy them. He had the greatest part of his plate coined into money, and deposed the musti who had authorised the German war by his fetfa.

Meanwhile the army advanced rapidly. Neither the sacrifice of the old grand vizier, nor the future promises, nor the gold sent to the new general to distribute to the troops, could appease the mutineers. They drew their chiefs along with them, who had always in the council inclined towards moderation. The grand seignior assembled the divan every day; he descended to justifications and even to prayers. The bashaws and men of the law, who composed this assembly, replied, that it was not they that he should gain over. It is true however that the body of ulema hated Mahomet as much as those whom he dreaded with so much reason. The effendis had not forgotten the heavy tax that had been laid on them, and they perceived with a secret joy that a religious prince, thoroughly devoted to the ulema, Solyman, the brother of Mahomet, was on the point of possessing the throne. The new musti, called Calil, who was indebted to Mahomet for his recent elevation, durst not cabal  
against

The Mahometan priests prepare the people for the revolution.

against him; but the nakib, or chief of the emirs, and the scherif of Saint Sophia's, the principal mosque in Constantinople, both greatly distinguished by their dignities and the credit which they had acquired, were continually representing to the people and to the soldiers remaining in Constantinople, that the Ottoman empire would infallibly go to ruin under a prince who had neither good intentions, nor talents, nor courage; that the army was coming to depose Mahomet, and that it would be both dangerous and unjust to resist them.

The grand seignior, who saw nothing around him but consternation and terror, attempted for the third time to have his brothers put to death. He thought, that the ancient respect for the Ottoman blood, which is interwoven in the religion of the Turks, would prevent them from deposing the sole branch of the imperial race, and that a crime would secure him on the throne from whence they wanted to pull him down. It is not improbable indeed that he would have kept himself on it by a fratricide, if he had had an opportunity to effect it. But the caimacan Kiuperli (son and grand-son of these two famous grand viziers who had rendered the commencement of Mahomet's reign so glorious), and the bostangi pachi, who were charged with this horrible execution, not only refused to do it, but watched likewise that no one shed this innocent blood. Guards of bostangis were placed

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1098.

Mahomet attempts for the third time to have his brothers put to death. He is prevented by the caimacan and the bostangi pachi.

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1098. } at the apartments of all the princes; Mahomet's sons were removed out of the haram, in which the princes are nursed during their infancy. Kiuperli would fain have his eyes constantly open on this charge, which it seemed as if the nation had intrusted to him.

The army  
arrives at  
Constantinople.

Meanwhile the army arrived at the gates of Constantinople. Twenty odas of janissaries or spahis were posted in the city: the rest were distributed to guard the port, gates, and suburbs, Sciaus bashaw, the chief of a conspiracy of which he was neither the author nor the most zealous accomplice, obtained from the principal officers that surrounded him, leave to see Mahomet.

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1099.

The very day he entered Constantinople, which was the 30th of October, he appeared before that prince with all the respect that a grand vizier ought to pay his emperor. Sciaus could perceive nothing but weakness and terror in the eyes of his master. Mahomet made a long apology for his conduct, in which he particularly dwelt on the glory of his reign under the two viziers Kiuperli. He added, that he had punished the ministers who had indiscreetly engaged him in the German war; that he had given up his pleasures, his treasures, and every thing most dear to him in the world, to pay his troops, and repair the misfortunes of the Ottoman arms; that if they would depose him for the good of his subjects, he was ready to descend from the throne; and that, if they were desirous to take his life, he would

would sacrifice it voluntarily. Mahomet shed J.C. 1687.  
tears in pronouncing these last words. Sciaus Heg. 1099.  
bashaw, touched with pity, left his master to return to the mosque, where the body of ulema and the officers of the janissaries and spahis were waiting for him. The chief of the emirs had spoken with great vehemence, and called on the caimacan Kiuperli to acknowledge that Mahomet had given him orders to extinguish by an assassination the whole imperial race. The praise which the chief of the emirs bestowed at the same time on the caimacan and bostangi pachi, calling them the saviours of the empire and the protectors of the Ottoman race, prevailed on these two great officers to acknowledge the orders which they had received, and to give an account of the measures that they had taken to prevent any other persons from committing this crime. This recital excited general indignation. The grand vizier and the musti vainly endeavoured to defend the emperor, but were silenced by the clamour; and they perceived, that their endeavours to preserve Mahomet his sceptre were likely to endanger their own dignity, liberty, and perhaps life. It was agreed to send the two effendis who had directed all these proceedings, to signify to Mahomet his deposition. They proceeded towards the seraglio amidst the people, who accompanied and retarded their steps. Having shewn the bostangis and icoglans an order signed by the grand vizier and the musti, they proceeded  
into

Mahomet  
is deposed

J.C. 1687. into the very inner apartment, where they found  
 Heg. 1099. Mahomet overburdened with grief. The chief  
 of the emirs spoke to him at first with the respect  
 due to one who had been forty years his master ;  
 but on the prince's entering into a long apology  
 for himself, which concluded with imprecations  
 against his rebel subjects : " We are not come,"  
 replied the scherif of Saint Sophia's, " either to  
 " listen to thy elogy, or hear thy abuse. De-  
 " scend from the throne, which thou art unwor-  
 " thy of filling, and prepare to occupy for the rest  
 " of thy days the prison in which thou wouldst  
 " have assassinated thy brothers." At these  
 words the two deputies withdrew, leaving the  
 kiaia of the bostangi pachi to guard the de-  
 throned prince.

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## S O L Y M A N II.

### *TWENTIETH REIGN.*

Solyman  
 II. ascends  
 the throne.

THE bostangi pachi and the chief of the  
 black eunuchs conducted the two effendis  
 immediately to the apartment in which prince  
 Solyman was confined. This prince, then forty-  
 six years of age, was continually reading the  
 Alcoran and the Sunna, and had never taken  
 any part in the intrigues or revolutions which  
 had several times menaced his life. He made,

or

or seemed to make, like his predecessors, some difficulties at accepting the empire, saying, that having lived more than forty years in a prison, he had had no opportunity of getting any other knowledge than what was contained in the Alcoran and the Sunna. “Most powerful emperor,” replied the chief of the emirs, “this law, which you have so particularly studied, is that by which you shall govern us; this is also what your brother has so shamefully transgressed. God and the holy prophet command you, by our voice, to come and seat yourself on the throne of your ancestors.” The new emperor obeyed with an affected repugnancy. They obliged him to put on a robe lined with sable, and placed in his turban the three egrets, as likewise by his side a poniard set with diamonds; all marks of sovereignty. He was conducted into the divan chamber, where the grand vizier, the bashaws of the bench, the body of ulema, and, in short, all the chiefs of the military corps, janissaries, spahis, levantis, and others, were waiting to kiss the bottom of his vest. As they were conducting the new emperor to this ceremony, he asked what they were going to do with the dethroned prince. On the bostangi pachi’s replying that he was to occupy the same apartment from whence he, the emperor, had just been taken, Solyman, whether through pity, or that he dreaded the reproaches of his brother, earnestly desired that he might not meet him.

This

J.C. 1687.  
Heg. 1099.

J.C. 1687. This prince, being arrived in the place where he  
 Heg. 1099. was to appear as an absolute monarch, shewed by  
 his timid countenance that the pomp which surrounded him, and the authority with which he was going to be invested, were equally strange to him. He confirmed the grand vizier Sciaus bashaw in his dignity, as well as the rest of the officers that filled the divan. He performed the *abdest*\* in presence of this numerous assembly, and then dismissed them, after having exhorted each member in a few words to do his duty.

J.C. 1688. It seemed as if the janissaries had consented  
 Heg. 1099. to make Solyman emperor, only that they might  
 Revolt in resign themselves to disorder, which this feeble  
 which the prince was unable to repress. During the whole  
 grand vi of this revolution, they had been displeased with  
 zier falls. the grand vizier, who, when they left the frontiers of Hungary, suffered himself, rather to be led by these rebels, than to conduct them, and had consented with difficulty to the deposing of Mahomet. The bulak-agalaris, who are officers of the janissaries answering nearly to colonels in the British service, went in a body to demand of the grand vizier the pay of their odas, which it had been impossible to raise notwithstanding the retrenchments that Mahomet had made, and the customary present on the accession of each emperor. There was far from being  
 enough

\* The *abdest* is the washing of the hands; a ceremony indispensable, and most strictly ordered by the law of Mahomet; it is done once a day, and likewise before every important action.



enough in the public treasury to answer all these expences. The grand vizier endeavoured at length to appease them with promises. After rather sharp remonstrances, at the end of three days, these mutineers declared, that, since they were refused the money that was their due, they would take it where they could find it. They began to plunder the richest houses in the city, particularly those of the effendis, merchants, and custom-house officers. The grand vizier sent his delis several times to put a stop to these disorders; but the guards of the prime minister were constantly beaten by soldiers better trained, more feared, and who kept always together in large numbers. At length, Sciaus bashaw having surprised and caused some of them to be put to death, the janissaries, instead of going tumultuously to the seraglio, according to their custom, to demand the deposition of the minister, attacked him in his palace. He bravely defended himself at the head of his delis and some servants; but, after a long resistance and much blood spilt, he was obliged to give way to number. The grand vizier fell by several blows, and his house was sacked, as if it had been a citadel. In contempt of the law of Mussulmen, the janissaries violated the sacred asylum of the haram. The sisters, wives, and concubines, of the unfortunate grand vizier fell a prey to their cruelty and licentiousness. After having polluted themselves with the blood of those who had attempted to make resis-

J.C. 1688.  
Heg. 1099.

tance, they dragged the rest almost naked into the streets of Constantinople, and sold them to any one that would buy them. The Mussulmen had felt only fear when their houses were pillaged, and had thought themselves secure from rapine when they had hidden their most valuable effects; but the usage received by the women converted their terror into indignation and despair. In an instant the streets were filled with armed people, who fell with fury on those who presumed to transgress the law of Mahomet, so far as to offend modesty in public. The citizens who were not armed threw out at the windows every thing that they could lay hold of in their rage. More courageous to keep the rioters out of their harems than to defend their property, their liberty, or their lives, these citizens, without a chief, without discipline, and almost without arms, found a force which they did not know they possessed. Whole bands of janissaries fell crushed under enormous masses thrown from the tops of the houses, and the soldiers revenged the loss of their comrades by a new carnage. This dreadful riot had no appearance of being at an end, when the musti, more courageous than the bashaws, who had not had the resolution to trust themselves in the middle of an enraged populace, appeared in all the places where the combatants seemed most exasperated. The chief of the law, preceded by the standard of Mahomet, ordered aloud all the Mussulmen, in the name of the prophet,

to sheathe the sword, which should never be drawn, he said, but against Infidels. The manner in which the musti appeared, his authority, and his courage, prevailed both with the soldiers and people. The janissaries hastened to their odas, and the whole attention was turned to the burying of the dead which were in great number in the streets.

The vizier that succeeded Sciaus bashaw possessed that dignity four days only; as he was determined to have the authors of the sedition secured, it was on the point of breaking out again, when, Solyman, by the advice of the musti, deposed the new vizier, and gave the seals to Mustapha bashaw, the richest of the Mussulmen, who, far from punishing the janissaries, made use of large sums of money to quiet them. Several odas received a part of what they had claimed, and quietly marched under the command of the grand vizier Mustapha against the bashaw of Nicomedia, who had taken advantage of the insurrection in Constantinople to keep back the imposts of his province. This new rebel was easily repressed; and the grand vizier, more fortunate than his predecessors, flattered himself with having put an end to these disturbances.

*Sequel of  
the revolt.*

One may well suppose that since the deposing of Mahomet IV. the affairs of Hungary had only grown worse. The emperor Leopold had just succeeded in having his son declared hereditary

J.C. 1688.  
Heg. 1099.

The bad  
success,  
both a-  
gainst the  
Germans  
and Vene-  
tians, de-  
termines  
the grand  
seignior to  
send am-  
bassadors  
to sue for  
peace.

king of Hungary. In vain had the Turkish emperor declared Tekli anew, prince of this state tributary to the Porte; the Imperialists had taken Agria and Mongats where the countess of Tekli had defended herself four months with the courage and conduct of an experienced general, and where that heroine had at length lost her liberty; Illock, Peterwaradin, Titul, and Alparegalis, had opened their gates: and, to complete the disaster, the duke of Bavaria had made himself master of Belgrade, after a long siege, which had cost the Turks nine thousand men killed or made prisoners. The Venetians had indeed miscarried before Negropont, which the misunderstanding between the officers of the pope and the grand duke, the continual rains, sickness, and several other circumstances, had constrained the generalissimo, Morosini, to abandon; but they had made themselves masters of four places in Dalmatia in which they had put garrisons. Poland alone, of all the powers at war with the Porte, had made no progress this year. The grand seignior and his minister perceived that it was time to conclude a peace. The Ottoman-haughtiness descended so far as to send ambassadors to the emperor Leopold, under pretence of acquainting him with the accession of Solyman to the throne of Constantinople, but in reality to bring about a peace become absolutely necessary. The moment was favorable, as the war broken out with France obliged Leopold to withdraw from

from Hungary the troops of the circles, those of the palatinate, and a great part of his own, to face this redoubtable enemy. Lewis XIV. by the numerous armies that he raised, and which astonished Europe, constrained the belligerent powers to make the greatest efforts. The Turks expected great things from this important diversion: an effendi, named Suubficar, and a Greek interpreter of the Porte, called Mauro Cordato, were sent to the German camp to propose a suspension of arms. This Mauro Cordato enjoyed at the Porte the greatest consideration ever obtained by any Christian among the Turks. He was perhaps the only one of his religion admitted into the divan and invested with the character of ambassador. The grand seignior, all religious as he was, surmounted his natural repugnancy for those whom the Turks call Giaurs or Infidels. He gave instructions from his own mouth to Mauro Cordato, who was thought more skilful than Suubficar, so much were the Mussulmen interested in disarming Leopold.

The elector of Bavaria had just taken Belgrade, when he saw the ambassadors of Solyman II. arrive in his camp; under pretence of paying them honors, he shewed them his triumphant army. The prince replied to the proposals which they made of suspending hostilities, that he was general of the emperor's troops, and not his plenipotentiary, charged to conquer Servia and Bulgaria, not to negotiate a peace; that if they

J.C. 1688.  
Heg. 1099.

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

The ambassadors  
refuse the  
conditions  
offered.

had -

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

had any thing to propose to his imperial majesty, they must go to Vienna to him. The Turkish ambassadors set out immediately for this capital of Austria, which had so powerfully opposed the torrent of their conquests, and the unfortunate siege of which was the epoch of their decline. At first they confined themselves to signifying to Leopold, in a public audience, the accession of Solymán to the throne of his ancestors, and the necessity to which the members of the state had found themselves reduced to take the sword of Othman from the hands of Mahomet, too feeble for its support. They waited to see if the German ministers would make any overtures of peace to them; but, as the latter remained obstinately silent, Mauro Cordato, whose religion seemed likely to render him less suspicious to the Austrians, proposed secretly to leave the western empire all the conquests which it had made. Leopold, persuaded that the moment was arrived to drive the Turks quite out of Europe, ordered the ambassadors to be told, that he would not listen to any propositions of peace, unless their master began by giving up, not only all Hungary, but likewise the adjacent provinces, such as Sclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Transylvania; that afterward, he should stipulate for his allies; that he would demand for the Poles Walachia, Moldavia, and a part of Crimean Tartary; and for the Venetians the cession of the Morea and the coast of Negropont, from Corfu

to Corinth, and a part of Dalmatia. The am-  
 bassadors, frightened at these claims, replied, that  
 they had no power to strip their master thus ;  
 upon which the emperor, imitating the behaviour  
 of the Turks to foreign ministers, immediately or-  
 dered the two envoys to be imprisoned in Put-  
 tendorf castle, where they were treated with much  
 respect. The Austrians would not prohibit them  
 from corresponding with the Porte. The Im-  
 perialists respected the law of nations, even when  
 they were desirous of infringing it.

J.C. 1689.  
 Heg. 1100.

They are  
 retained in  
 prison.

The grand seignior, on the news of the bad  
 success of his negotiation, ordered public prayers,  
 to obtain, as he said, the succour of God against  
 the Infidels. He again prohibited the use of  
 wine, and made rigorous laws in order to cure  
 his subjects, and particularly the soldiers, of this  
 vice which defiles nature, and is more common  
 among the people of the east and south than  
 those of the west and north. Several examples  
 of men put to death with the companions of their  
 debaucheries repressed, for a time, this licen-  
 tiousness, which had been at its height during  
 the reign of Mahomet. The religious monarch,  
 who had never handled a sword, but who had  
 read in the Alcoran that it is an action agreeable  
 to God, and even a duty, to draw it from the  
 scabbard against the Infidels, resolved to conduct  
 his troops into Hungary. He fancied he had  
 drawn on them the benediction of Heaven by a  
 great number of meritorious actions, such as  
 prayers,

The grand  
 seignior  
 orders pub-  
 lic prayers,  
 and pre-  
 pares to  
 take the  
 command  
 of the  
 troops  
 himself.

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

prayers, fastings, alms, and meditations on the Alcoran and Sunna; but Solyman, so well versed in the knowledge of his law, was ignorant of two things necessary for a prince who had taken the reins of the empire into his hands, the sciences of war and government. He seemed fitter to govern a monastery of dervises, than a great empire, the resources of which were drained, and which verged towards its ruin. Having learned, on his arrival at Sophia, the capital of Bulgaria, that prince Lewis of Baden, successor to the duke of Lorrain, had taken Sigeth or Sigestwar, and that he was advancing into Servia with a fresh and well disciplined army, the certainty of soon coming to action abated the ardour of the devout Solyman. He contented himself with sending into Slavonia to count Tekli, who commanded there a corps formed of the remaining revolted Hungarians, the sword, vest, and mace, of waywode of Transylvania. This general had received succours of money from Lewis XIV. which are much more efficacious than vain titles.

He  
changes  
his mind.

The grand seignior put at the head of the army, which he would no longer command himself, not the grand vizier Mustapha, who was as ignorant of the art of war as his master, but the seraskier Rejeb, formerly a chief of freebooters, who was supposed to have great talents for war, because he had desolated Asia and made himself formidable to all the bashaws of the divan, who had thought it safer to admit him among them, than



than to attempt to punish him. This chief of bandits, skilled in desolating plains and butchering farmers on the fields where they were on the point of gathering in their harvest, knew nothing of that scientific manner of making war which had been introduced into Europe several years before. He waited for the prince of Baden near Passarowitz on the borders of the Moravia, in a disadvantageous camp, which a conjurer, whom he carried with him, had assured him would be the theatre of his victory. He engaged the enemy against the advice of the officers who commanded under him, and by the inspiration of his magician. The Turks, discouraged before they came to action, were soon defeated. Rejeb, after having lost a great many men, assembled the broken remains of his army under the cannon of Nissa, where the prince of Baden soon overtook him. The presumption and obstinacy of the conjurer, added to the silly confidence of the chief, caused the Turks the loss of a second battle. This defeat, still worse than the first, opened Bulgaria to the vanquisher, who rapidly made himself master of Nissa, Viden, Orsowa, and Pirote: the alarm spread as far as Sophia, which the grand vizier hastened to leave. The austerity of his religion would not permit him to let the seraskier Rejeb live, who, contrary to the law of Mahomet, had consulted a magician: he was strangled, not for having lavished Mussulman blood and for his bad conduct in general,

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

The seraskier Rejeb, sent to command the army, is beaten twice and loses much ground.

The grand seignior has him strangled.

J.C. 1689.  
 Heg. 1106.

but for having transgressed the Alcoran. The troops commanded by Tekli were not more fortunate than the main army; the prince of Baden, having learned that the Hungarian prince was marching towards Viden, detached general Poccolomini with a corps against him. Tekli, who had lost, by the taking of Viden, a fine palace richly furnished, wanted to recover that place. Poccolomini eased him of the desire of it, by attacking him unawares, dispersing his little army, and forcing him to take shelter in Nicopoli.

Revolt of  
 the Mainots.  
 etc.

The affairs of the Morea had not been so bad for the Turks this year as the preceding ones. The inconsiderate zeal of some Venetian priests, and even of general Morosini who had been made doge, had alarmed their new allies the Mainots, who were of the Greek communion, and as much attached to their worship as the Venetians. The Italians, enemies of toleration, had pulled down some churches and restrained the exercise of the Greek liturgy. The most zealous of the Mainots regretted the liberty which they had enjoyed under the Mussulmen, and thought it necessary to forsake the Christians to be Christians in their own way. They asked the Porte for a waywode of their own province and communion. A slave, called Liberius, who had been groaning many years in the Ottoman galleys, after having been taken cruising in a corsair of his nation, was the prince whom Solyman chose for the Mainots. This man, sage and courageous, left the place where

where he had been confined as a slave, to become the sovereign and almost founder of a monarchy. J.C. 1689.  
Hag. 1700.

On his arrival in his own country, with the vest, sword, mace, and investiture of the grand feignior, he raised the standard of rebellion; and, having assembled his countrymen, offered them liberty and peace, if they were desirous to merit them. This change was received with transport. The Venetians, dispersed over the plantations of the Mainots, could not stand against enthusiasts who thought they were defending the cause of God under the command of a deliverer sent by himself. This revolution cost but little blood, because the Venetians made no attempt to recover the places from whence they had been driven; they obtained from the Mainots, by a sort of agreement, that the latter should remain neuter.

Leopold, who was hard pressed by France, notwithstanding his success against the Turks, began to wish sincerely for a peace with his vanquished enemy. He sent for the two ambassadors, who had not been so closely shut up in Puttendorf castle as not to be able to receive instructions from their court. Leopold heard with astonishment, that these Turks, beaten on all sides, far from offering, as they had done at first, to resign the Austrians their conquests, demanded the restoration, not only of what they had lost the preceding campaign, but even of the major part of Hungary. The emperor sent back these ministers, whom he called rash mad-men,

Leopold is desirous in his turn to make peace.

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.



to the same castle where they seemed to have learned so much audacity. This change was not the work of the grand vizier Mustapha, who had been just deposed for his incapacity. The caimacan Kiuperli had been put in his place; he was son and grand-son of the two celebrated viziers of the same name, who alone had given the Ottoman empire, since its foundation, the example of a family powerful and illustrious in several generations. This minister, who possessed the talents

Deposition  
of the  
grand vi-  
zier. A 3d  
Kiuperli  
succeeds  
him.

of his ancestors, had come to their preferment by restoring plenteousness and good order in Constantinople after the rebellion. He had gained the confidence of the people and especially of the ulema, the members of which had great interest with the reigning emperor. With the support of the latter he had rooted out great abuses, and had restrained the depredations of the inhabitants of the seraglio, a useless, greedy troop, accustomed to devour the substance of the people and soldiers. Kiuperli having prevailed on the religious Solyman to intrust him with the administration of the finances of the haram, which the kislar agasi dissipated, this caimacan had insinuated himself by degrees into the confidence of his master, and had demonstrated to him, that all the troubles of the last reign and of his own proceeded from the incapacity of the ministers, and of the generals whom the latter had made choice of. The grand seignior, full of good intentions, resolved to raise this man to the dignity  
of

of prime minister, as he appeared to him the most capable of discharging its functions. J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100. Mustapha was deposed; and as the riches which he had accumulated in three different Asiatic bashawcies had not decreased in the eighteen months that he had possessed the place of grand vizier, though he had paid with his own money, as we have seen, the present claimed by the janissaries on Solyman's accession to the throne, the grand seignior confiscated all the property of this unfortunate vizier, who was sent into exile in one of the isles of the Archipelago. A pension of fifty aspers a day only was assigned him for his maintenance. It soon returned to the public treasury; for Mustapha, overcome with grief, survived his disgrace but a few months.

Kiuperli was no sooner at the head of the divan, than he changed the whole internal administration; and proved that the resources of a great state are immense, when those who manage them know how to make honor and œconomy succeed disorders and depredations. Though the want of money was so pressing, the grand vizier began with relieving Constantinople and the provinces from an almost arbitrary impost, which his predecessor had put on meat. This unexpected liberality filled the people with joy, and all the officers with surprise. Their astonishment increased when they saw all the defterdars, comptrollers of mosques, and receivers of the customs, summoned to give an account of their administration. He puts the finances in order.  
He gains the confidence of the people.

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

stration in open divan from the time that they had managed the public money. It was useless to bring discharges from officers who were not the viziers; for, in order to conceal the knowledge of their rapines, the prime ministers always ordered receipts to be given for the sums absorbed in their treasures, by inferior officers who were looked upon to have applied them to different uses, in order to prevent a suspicious prince from demanding from them an account of what they could say had been employed unknown to them. Kiuperli, who knew that his ancestors had always managed the finances of the empire themselves, and that all receipts ought to be given by the grand vizier, affected not to receive any excuse in this respect; and as he was certain that those who had been accessory to the avidity of the ministers had made an advantage of their infidelity, he declared to the officers who had either given or received such receipts, that they must make good the deficiencies. He caused the lands and the effects of those who had been intrusted with government money, and could not give him a satisfactory account of the application of it since the death of the second Kiuperli, to be sold. Several did justice to themselves, for fear of punishment: they carried restitutions to the public treasury before they were constrained so to do. Kiuperli took the timars from those who did not really serve in the army. He excepted none from this rigorous law but the old

men

men rendered unfit to serve by their wounds or  
 fatigues. These timars were given to compensate  
 for the suppressed thaimes, which are a sort of  
 daily pensions paid those who seem to be entitled  
 to receive a maintenance from the state. The  
 grand vizier forbade a single asper to be taken  
 from the public treasury, except to pay the sol-  
 diers or debts contracted, because, he said, the  
 Alcoran expressly forbids those who are in debt,  
 whether monarch or other person, to give away  
 a property not their own.

It was hoped that a minister so sage would  
 procure the Ottoman empire a peace, which this  
 drained state seemed unable to do without. The  
 musti and all the ministers pressed him to it: the  
 grand seignior himself desired it, as it was the  
 general wish. A divan was assembled, in which  
 the chiefs of the ulema, such as the cadileskiers  
 and mollacs, were admitted. The latter exag-  
 gerated the situation and misfortunes of the em-  
 pire, the scarcity of men and money, the dis-  
 couragement of the troops, and the incapacity of  
 the commanders; they agreed almost unanimously  
 to solicit peace from the Germans, and to order  
 the ambassadors to accept any conditions that  
 Leopold should be pleased to offer. The cad-  
 leskier of Asia was the only one who opposed  
 this proceeding, which he called cowardice; and,  
 addressing himself to the grand vizier, he said,  
 that a man like him would soon repair the fi-  
 nances of a state, drained only by the incapacity

Assembly  
 of the di-  
 van, when  
 the conti-  
 nuation of  
 the war is  
 resolved  
 on.

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

of his predecessors; that when his grand-father had accepted the seals of the empire, he had found every thing in the greatest disorder. "The flock will be always fat and numerous in our fertile lands," added the cadileskier, "when we have vigilant shepherds and courageous dogs, capable of wresting the lambs from the teeth of cruel, fugitive beasts. Our towns have been taken through the incapacity of our generals; these should be recovered at all events. The finances are drained: the sage œconomy of the vizier will soon repair them. The seraskiers have lost the choice of our troops in battles as disgraceful as bloody, but the valour of the Ottomans is not yet daunted. Let Kiuperli raise new recruits and lead them himself to battle, and our enemies shall soon know that the Ottomans are good soldiers under an able general. In a word, the Alcoran forbids us to make treaties with the Giaurs, unless they are vanquished. The prophet, who has made this law, will procure us the means to accomplish it. It is a crime to doubt Providence, and a still greater one to deprive ourselves of the resources which he is pleased to send us." Kiuperli heard this discourse with transport. Flattered and encouraged by this elogium, he persuaded the emperor that he should have certain success, without its costing him either danger or fatigues; and he had the



the boldness to promise victory to those who had been so anxious for peace. J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

The ambassadors confined in Puttendurf castle were ordered, without seeming to break off the negotiation entirely, to render it so difficult, that the campaign might be begun. The grand vizier relied much on the powerful diversion which the French promised to make. The French ambassador, Mr. Dechateauneuf, had made this minister sensible of the perplexity into which the war against his master would throw Germany. The grand vizier hoped to find in Hungary neither the generals, nor the armies which, for seven years past, had made such astonishing progress there. Kiuperli sent a circular invitation into the different provinces of the empire, to all good Mussulmen and brave patriots, to come and avenge the misfortunes of the nation. However despotic the government of the Turks may be, the fertility of the climate, and the enthusiasm of their religion, attach them to their country. They love even the blood of their despots, which they have several times shed, but which they always wish to see on the throne. They loved likewise the family of Kiuperli: the memory of his father and grand-father was recent; and though the new grand vizier had never commanded an army, the sagacity which he had shewn in the commencement of his ministry had prejudiced the whole empire in his favor. They joined his standard in crowds, and the officers of

Kiuperli  
levies re-  
cruits.

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

Act of  
justice of  
Kiuperli.  
He obliges  
the Greek  
priests to  
pay the  
same im-  
posts as the  
other sub-  
jects who  
are not  
Mahome-  
tans.

the janissaries and spahis picked their recruits from the choice of the youth. A great many asaps were raised, who encamped under the walls of Constantinople, and were under such a strict discipline, that it could not be perceived in any quarter of the city that an army surrounded it. The changes which Constantinople and its environs had undergone in a few months were incredible. The order which reigned brought abundance every where. Kiuperli, persuaded that justice is made for all mankind, applied himself to the administering of it with the greatest exactness to all the Christians, Jews, Idolaters, in short, to all those whom the Mussulmen call Giaurs. This minister, who knew how useful strangers are in a country destitute of commerce through the laziness of its inhabitants, knew likewise that fair dealing is the soul of that commerce. He was particularly attentive to protect the merchants from the frequent vexations which, through a mistaken avidity, they experienced from brutal Turks, who thought themselves exempted from being just to those whom they called Infidels. The policy of the vizier extended so far as to protect the religion of each. He had been very severe to the Greek priests, called *papas*, obliging them to pay the same tribute as the other subjects who are not Mussulmen. The Greek priests had 'till then been excused from it, on account of a pretended exemption granted by Mahomet to a monk of mount Sinai, who, as they

they said, had predicted to him in his youth his future greatness. The vizier treated this as a fable though it had 'till then passed for an averred fact, adding, that what might have been granted to the friars of mount Sinai ought not to belong to all the Greek priests. This impost which he obliged them to pay was the more important for the public treasury, as the Greek clergy are very numerous, and rather rich from the liberalities of their communion. But though he had taken from the ministers of this religion an usurped privilege, he did all the other Greeks a favor, which has not a little contributed to multiply them in the Ottoman empire.

The vizier, when he set out at the head of his army, in the beginning of the spring, for Servia, which he was desirous of recovering, passed through a village inhabited solely by Greek Christians. These peasants had neither priests nor church, as the uléma would not permit temples of a foreign religion to be built in places where there were none when they were conquered. Notwithstanding this law, which was not written any where, but which had been scrupulously observed, the grand vizier ordered a Greek church to be built in this village, and that a priest of that religion should be sent for to serve it. Kiuperli replied to the remonstrances which were not forgotten to be made him, that it was necessary for mankind to have some religion, or they would become freebooters, and that it was

J.C. 1689.  
Heg. 1100.

J.C. 1690.  
Heg. 1101.

He gives a church to a Greek village that had none.

J.C. 1690d  
Heg. 1101.

better for the empire to be inhabited by Greeks who should cultivate the land and pay the taxes, than by wild beasts. In acknowledgement of this favor, which caused an excess of joy in these poor farmers, Kiuperli demanded a fowl from each housekeeper every time that he should pass that way: immediately twenty fowls were brought him. The grand vizier, returning the following year to Constantinople, passed again through the same place, and received two hundred fowls from those who were eagerly come to settle in this village. "See," said he to the officers that surrounded him, "what toleration produces. I have increased the power of our great monarch, and have forced these good people to bless our government, which they hated."

The first campaign of Kiuperli was as glorious as the preceding ones had been unfortunate. The janissaries, under him, resumed their ancient valour, which was highly necessary to recover some of the many places which the last seraskiers had lost by their incapacity. The grand vizier had forty-five thousand foot and forty thousand horse under his command. As the finances of the empire were not thoroughly repaired, Kiuperli had fewer troops in pay than he could have wished. However, he did great things with this little army. As it was his intention to take Belgrade, he first made himself master of the neighbouring places. Sarkioi was his first conquest, where he found five hundred

Kiuperli  
takes several towns  
and gains  
a great  
victory.

hundred Heydukes, to whom he granted the liberty of retiring where they would, provided it were not in any fortified place, declaring that he would put all those among them to death without mercy who should be taken in arms. The grand vizier having from thence gone and besieged Nissa, count Staremborg, who commanded there, defended that post with great bravery, less with the hopes of keeping it, than to gain time to repair the fortifications of Belgrade. After having the trenches open twenty-five days, during which much blood was spilt, the count, seeing the impossibility of holding out a longer time, demanded the honors of war, which the vizier was very willing to grant him. As the garrison were on the point of filing off, the janissaries observed some of the Heydukes of Sarkioi in the ranks, who had been discharged on their promise of not serving again during the war. They were stopped immediately, and the marching out of the garrison being retarded, those of the Heydukes who had been just secured, were put to the rack. They confessed that all their comrades had entered Nissa with them. Kiuperli threatened the count to put the whole garrison to the sword, if all the delinquents were not immediately given up. There was no way of refusing this justice to one so capable of righting himself. The five hundred Heydukes, drawn from the ranks, were decimated in presence of the German garrison and the Turkish army.

Twenty

J.C. 1690.  
Heg. 1101.

J.C. 1690.  
Heg. 1101.

Twenty of them were hanged up immediately ; and the rest, being put in chains, were sent on board the galleys. Viden and Semendriah surrendered at the first summons. Kiuperli, having thus secured his rear, thought it time to lay siege to Belgrade. He had but just pitched his camp before that place, in which was a garrison of ten thousand men, when he learned that general Veterani was marching towards him at the head of thirty thousand Germans. Kiuperli advanced against him with his cavalry, leaving all the infantry to pursue the siege. Whilst the grand vizier was keeping the Germans at bay, fortune favored him more than he could possibly have expected. A fire having broken out in a powder magazine contiguous to the wall where all the batteries were directed, made a large breach there. The bashaw who commanded in the absence of Kiuperli, knew how to take advantage of this favorable circumstance and the confusion of the enemy; he made an assault, while the shock was still so recent, that a thousand janissaries who had mounted with ladders were precipitated with a piece of wall that gave way under them. This accident only rendered the operation easier; the town was soon taken, and as Kiuperli was not there to restrain the fury and cruelty of the vanquishers, it was with great difficulty that the bashaw could save three thousand men of the garrison. On the news of this success, the grand vizier returned to Belgrade; he employed some  
time

time in repairing the breaches of that place, J.C. 1690.  
Heg. 1101. which was looked upon as the bulwark of Hungary. He re-victualled Temeswar, reduced to the last extremity by a blockade of three years; and having conducted his troops over the Danube, made himself master in a short time of Lippa, Orsowa, and all the country bordering on these places. Just as he had laid siege to Esseck, general Veterani came to attack his camp. Kiuperli had expected it. He received the onset of the Imperialists with such judgment and courage, that they were presently defeated. The loss of this battle was irreparable for the Germans, as only seven thousand men escaped the sword or captivity, most of the officers of distinction perished, and the Turks took an amazing number of colours, kettle-drums, and every thing that could signalize a great victory. Battle of  
Esseck.

Notwithstanding this brilliant success, the grand vizier was obliged to raise the siege of Esseck on account of winter's coming on, and because he was desirous of leading his troops against prince Lewis of Baden, who had brought an army into Transylvania against the waywode Tekli, vanquisher in the beginning of the campaign, but since driven from his new estates. The Poles did nothing this year but expose their army in the deserts of Moldavia to want and disease, which carried off more than half of them. As to the Venetians, they were as fortunate this campaign as the preceding ones. The town of  
Napoli

J.C. 1690.  
Heg. 1101.



Nàpoli di Malvasia, which was the only place that the Turks had left in the Morea, surrendered to the républic after a blockade of seventeen months. Admiral Daniel beat twenty Turkish vessels on the coast of Metelin, sunk seven of them, and put the rest to flight. Cornaro took two towns in Albania and Dalmatia. The bashaw of Heregovinza, having attempted to make himself master of a small place, was repulsed by the garrison and townsmen, made prisoner, and chained to the oar with the best part of his troops. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the success of the grand vizier in Hungary had raised the courage of the Ottomans.

Return of  
the grand  
vizier to  
Adriano-  
ple.

Kiuperli was received at Adrianople, where the court was, with every demonstration of joy, and all the honors of a triumph. The confidence of the troops, the admiration of the people, the incapacity of the monarch, every thing contributed to augment his authority. According to the usage of the Porte, it was with this minister only that ambassadors ought to treat, whether for the interests of their merchants or for foreign affairs; but Kiuperli, instead of carrying the grand seignior the proposals of foreign ministers, and receiving orders from his master, fully decided the affairs of greatest consequence, and the grand seignior congratulated himself on being delivered of a burden too heavy for his hands.

Mr. Dechateauf, the French ambassador, was charged by his court with four important negotiations



negotiations at the same time. They were as follows. First, to procure a continuation of the war against the emperor of the West; secondly, to conclude a peace with Poland, in order that the common enemy might be the more weakened; thirdly, to engage the Turks not to acknowledge the prince of Orange king of England, and in consequence to confiscate the vessels of the English who called themselves subjects of that monarch; and lastly, to obtain the restitution of the Holy places at Jerusalem to the Roman catholics, to whom they ought to belong. The continuation of the war with the western empire was perfectly conformable to the wishes of the prime minister and the interest of the nation, which began to recover from the abject state in which it had lingered several years. The Ottoman ambassadors continued still at Puttendorf without any power from their court. The second negotiation was more difficult. The success of the campaign having elated the courage of the Turks, and particularly of the grand vizier, the Porte would not restore Kaminieck to the Poles unless it were demolished. The king and republic, who justly considered this important place as the bulwark of Poland, did not think its restoration worth accepting, without it were in a state of defence. The proposals were rejected on both sides. With respect to the confiscation of the English vessels, though the operation appeared to be favorable, on account of the

J.C. 1690.  
Heg. 1101.

Negotiations with  
the French  
ambassa-  
dor.

J.C. 1691.  
Heg. 1102.

J.C. 1691.  
Heg. 1102.

advantage which it would be of to the Ottoman marine, reduced by the battle with the Venetians, the grand vizier absolutely refused it. He replied to the arguments of Mr. Dechateauneuf, who endeavoured to prove the injustice and usurpation of the prince of Orange, that the latter was the real king of England, as the English acknowledged him for such; and that it was not for a people, who had several times deposed their emperors, to refuse other nations the right of changing master. The restitution of the Holy places remained to be discussed: this object interested politics as much as religion. The Greeks, who were in possession of these temples so revered by the Christians, treated those, who were not of their communion, very ill. There had been several times combats at Jerusalem, and blood spilt on his tomb who ordered Peter to sheathe the sword drawn for his defence, and his apostles to go and propagate the faith among mankind, as lambs among the wolves. Those, who were drawn to Jerusalem by devotion, were exposed to the danger of taking the life of another, or of losing their own. The ambassadors of France, charged more particularly at Constantinople with the protection of the Roman catholics, had for more than a century vainly claimed the justice which this sect thought their due. In order to succeed in it, Mr. Dechateauneuf took advantage of the want which the Turks thought they had of Lewis XIV. Notwithstanding the favor of  
the

the Greek monks, orders were given to the sangiac of Jerusalem to take the Holy sepulchre from them; but these orders, which satisfied the king of France and his minister for the moment, were badly executed. The Turks could not resolve to lose the money that they drew from the Greeks, and which the latter received from the pilgrims.

J.C. 1691.  
Heg. 1102.

However, all Adrianople was resounding with acclamations of joy at the news of the seraskier Capelan Ali's having, in the midst of the frost of the winter, retaken Canina and Valona from the Venetians, of which the latter had made themselves masters the preceding campaign, when the infirmities of the grand seignior turning to a dropsy, the uneasiness natural to sick people mortally attacked made this prince desirous of returning to Constantinople. The increase of the disorder prevented Kiuperli from going into Hungary in the beginning of the spring, as he had intended. Several great officers talked secretly of putting a son of Mahomet IV. on the throne; the grand vizier on the contrary claimed the usage in favor of Achmet, the brother of the reigning emperor, and the eldest of the Ottoman princes after Mahomet IV. who was still living. The prudence and firmness of the grand vizier disconcerted their schemes; and when, on the 24th of June, the emperor was choaked by the dropsy, for which the doctors had found no remedy, no one presumed to raise his voice

Success during the winter against the Venetians.

Commotions to put a son of Mahomet IV. on the throne. Kiuperli opposes it.

Death of the grand seignior.

J.C. 1691.  
Heg. 1102.

Character  
of Soly-  
man II.

in favor of Mahomet or either of his children. We have seen that Solyman bore no part in the great things done during his reign. It was the fate of the Kiuperlis to govern the Turks under weak princes, and to exercise at the same time the functions of a vigilant minister and the supreme authority of a despotic prince. Solyman, whose whole attention was directed to the study of the Alcoran still passes for a Saint among the Ottomans, who cannot consider him as a great monarch. Instead of great actions, they attribute miracles to him. It is said, that water being wanted in the palace of Constantinople, occasioned by a hard frost, Solyman made it appear all of a sudden in a marble basin to do the abdest with; and as soon as this duty was fulfilled, the water disappeared as it had come. The conduct of Solyman to his brother Mahomet IV. paints his character better than the puerilities reported of him by the devout Mussulmen. The deposed prince being taken ill in his prison, sent to beg the emperor to let him have physicians. Solyman replied, that, if these physicians, instead of relieving him, should cause his death by remedies badly administered, or that the violence of the disorder should carry him off notwithstanding their attention, it might be said that the emperor had hastened his end; that it was better to leave Mahomet to Providence, who has numbered the days of mankind, and who would recover him better than all

all the physicians together, or take him from the world in spite of them. Mahomet got over this <sup>J.C. 1691.  
Heg. 1102.</sup> sickness, and was in fact indebted to nature alone for the health which the best remedies could not have rendered him more perfect. Solyman II. reigned three years and nine months.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

# E R R A T A.

- Page 17, line 17.—For *negociator*, read *negotiator*.  
 25, line 13. }  
 51, line 28. } For *was more*, read *was the more*.  
 52, line 10. }  
 29, line 29. } For *ascendancy*, read *ascendancy*,  
 68, line 20. }  
 32, line 22.—Put a comma after *generations*.  
 53, line 8.—For *displined*, read *disciplined*.  
 63, line 1.—For *feet*, read *foot*.  
 73, line 9-10. }  
 153, line 28.— }  
 220, line 25.— } For *negociation*, read *negotiation*.  
 221, line 22.— }  
 233, line 3.— }  
*et passim* Vol. I. & II. }  
 75, line 10.— }  
 ibid. line 16.— }  
 131, line 9-10. }  
 156, line 26.— } For *negociate*, read *negotiate*.  
 157, line 5.— }  
 167, line 26.— }  
 203, line 18.— }  
*et passim* Vol. I. & II. }  
 151, line 14.—For *conciliate favor*, read *conciliate the favor*.  
 156, line 19.— }  
*et passim* Vol. I. & II. } For *negociated*, read *negotiated*.  
 159, line 16.—Dele the comma after *faults*.  
 201, line 25.—Put a comma after *man*.  
 204, line 17.—For *were*, read *was*.  
 225, line 22.—For *sense*, read *sense*.  
 234, line 11.—Put a comma in the place of the semicolon after the word *Turks*.  
 255, line 26.—For *bey*, read *they*.  
 266, line 23.—For *was*, read *is*.  
 272, line 20.—For *convoy*s, read *provisions*.  
 292, line 6 of the note.—For *mission*, read *place*.  
 308, line 9.—For *tolerable*, read *tolerably*.  
 317, line 20.—For *we rein*, read *were in*.  
 319, line 21.—Put a comma after the word *chief*.  
 320, line 9.—Put a comma after *Sobieski*.  
 324, line 12-13.—Put a comma after *murder*.  
 327, line 8.—Put a comma after *Poles*.  
 330, line 22.—Dele the comma after *be*.  
 334, line 2.—For *to live*, read *and to live*.  
 ibid. line 12.—For *hardness*, read *hardiness*.  
 381, line 21.—For *honor*, read *order*.

















